1-1-1974

Models for improving teachers' perceptions of students : a guide for administrators.

Reuben G. Pierce
University of Massachusetts Amherst

MODELS FOR IMPROVING TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF STUDENTS: A GUIDE FOR ADMINISTRATORS

A Dissertation Presented

By

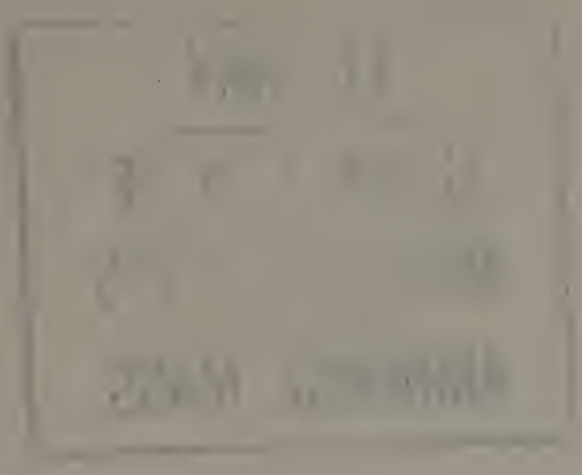
Reuben G. Pierce

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

April 1974

Administration



MODELS FOR IMPROVING TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF STUDENTS:

A GUIDE FOR ADMINISTRATORS

A Dissertation

By

Reuben G. Pierce

Approved as to style and content by:

Dr. Richard Konicek, Chairman of Committee

Dr. Atron Gentry, Dean's Representative

Dr. Richard Clark, Member

Dr. Warren Litsky, Member

Dwight W. Allen,
Dean, School of Education

April 1974

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This is intended to express my sincere thanks to those without whose help this paper would never (probably never) have been written: Richard Konicek, my chairman, whose friendship, encouragement and assistance got me back on the "track;" Richard Clark, with whom I had the pleasure of working for a year, and whose "administrative style" provides a model for a "mature leadership style" as used in this paper; Atron Gentry, for his friendship and continued encouragement, and his words of wisdom about the "system;" Warren Litsky, whose empathy and perceptiveness will continue to inspire me to work toward the goal of education as stated in this paper; Willard J. Jacobson, who got me started; my wife, Leslie, whose patience, assistance, encouragement and love endured it all; and finally, the "kids" who are the ultimate target of this paper, and who show me what the problem is, and that it can be overcome.

ABSTRACT

Models for Improving Teachers' Perceptions of Students:

A Guide for Administrators

(April 1974)

Reuben G. Pierce, B.A., M.S., University of Omaha

Directed by: Dr. Richard D. Konicek

There is developed in this dissertation a set of models that can be used by school administrators to assist teachers in developing more positive perceptions of students, especially those students described as "deprived," "disadvantaged," "underprivileged," "minority group," etc.. This goal for the dissertation is arrived at through the following argument:

1. Students and teachers behave in ways that are consistent with their perceptions. Teachers' self-perceptions influence their behavior. Teachers' perceptions of students determine to a very large extent how they behave toward their students. Students' perceptions of themselves determine in large measure how they behave.

2. Students, especially elementary level students, tend to see themselves through the eyes of their teachers because teachers are significant others in their lives. Because teachers are significant others in the lives of students, students' perceptions of themselves are influenced, and to a large extent shaped by the behavior of teachers.

3. At some time during a child's school career he acquires the capacity for creating his own identity and taking charge of his

own life. His experiences, both in and out of school, prior to this time will influence the ease or difficulty with which the student creates his identity and takes charge of his life.

4. In America the message that the larger society delivers to its minority group members is powerful, largely negative, and such as to raise questions in the minds of minority group members regarding their ability, worth and dignity.

5. Educators have the power to reinforce the negative message that the larger society delivers to minority group students; they have the power to confute it.

6. Administrators are in a position to assist teachers in developing more positive perceptions of their students.

The expected result of increasing teachers' positive perceptions of students is an increase in the students' positive self-perceptions with concomitant increased achievement in school.

This argument is supported by the writer's experiences as an urban school administrator as well as by references to literature. Included in the dissertation is a discussion of these experiences and of hallmark ideas in the areas of psychology, philosophy, administrative theory and teacher-student interactions. Using ideas from these sources, the writer develops models to show: a) how teachers' perceptions of students (especially minority group students) evolve, and b) how administrators may institute ways to alter, in a positive direction, teachers' perceptions of these students. Concrete situations are discussed to illustrate ways in which administrators

may act in schools and school systems in applying the models to improving teachers' perceptions of students.

Given the extreme disparity of the positions examined in the development of models (for example, behavioral psychology and existential philosophy) this writer has, throughout the discussion of the literature and the development of models, chosen the options which place the responsibility for choice and for behavior on the individual teacher and student, and which allow for the growth of each individual to the point where he can accept this responsibility and exercise control over his own life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Aim and Design of the Dissertation

General statement of the problem. The general problem with which this writer is concerned is that of improving education and educational achievement for minority group students. That concern grows from this writer's belief that these students -- who are variously defined or described in literature as "culturally deprived," "underprivileged," "minority-group," etc. -- can learn far more than they have been learning in schools. That these students -- who are proportionately more often than not black, and/or poor, and/or Spanish-speaking, and/or Native Americans -- have been academically unsuccessful is clear. One such example is reported in the National Science Teachers Association Journal:

> In a recent article of the NAEP (National Assessment of Educational Progress) it was stated that if "the young American's parents did not have the advantage of much education . . . or if he lives in the inner-city . . . . Or if he is Black . . . . He or she, as the case may be, knows less about science than the nation as a whole." [1]

Dissertation goal. With the end in mind of promoting greater success in school for minority group students, the writer will develop, in this dissertation, a set of models designed to be used by school administrators, specifically school building principals (as the basic

---

[1] NAEP, "National Assessment Science Findings are a Challenge to American Education," Vol. V, No. 1 (January-February, 1972), p.1.

reference point), in aiding teachers to improve their perceptions of their students. It is also expected that other administrators, such as those responsible for staff development, in-service and pre-service teacher education, and curriculum development will find this guide a valuable aid in increasing academic achievement among minority group students. The thesis of the dissertation is essentially this: a) students who don't think very much of themselves don't do very well in school; b) minority groups include more than their share of children who don't think very well of themselves; c) school teachers and administrators who aim to educate children (especially minority group children) must take steps to aid these children in thinking more positively of themselves; d) teachers and administrators, in order to do this, must themselves think well of the children with whom they work.

Specifically, this dissertation will describe the environment of these students, examine the possible effects of this environment on the development of the self-perceptions of these students, review literature as a means of determining the present state of knowledge about the problem and of developing useful and relevant concepts and ideas, and suggest implications for action by administrators for working with and through teachers in dealing with the self-concept development of their students. The work will also examine the writer's own experiences as a school administrator that are relevant to the problem.

Goal of education. This writer accepts as the goal of education the provision of 1) an environment in which each student can have

those experiences that enable him to optimally actualize the unlimited potentialities that he possesses, and of 2) assistance in bringing about that interaction between child and environment that ultimately gives the child the power to actualize that potential. Jordan and Streets derive:

> a definition of good education as the process of translating potentiality into actuality at an optimum rate. One of the primary goals of the ANISA model is to enable each child to become fully conscious of the process and take charge of it, thereby securing the power to shape his own destiny.[2]

Implicit in this notion is the aim of developing self-actualizing people. In a democracy, it seems axiomatic that independence of thought, judgment and action are essential for the survival and growth of the democratic ideal. A liberal education is one which prepares students to exercise independence in these areas. It seems, further, that independence in at least one other dimension is essential to the enjoyment of any other freedom; and that is economic independence. Economic independence means that a person is free from poverty, free from the welfare rolls, free to follow the dictates of conscience and, in short, free to pursue self-actualization.

Rationale. Given this statement regarding the goal of education, the relevance of the concern of this writer to the

---

[2]Daniel C. Jordan and Donald T. Streets, The ANISA Model: A New Vision and a New Way in Early Education (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts, School of Education, Center for the Study of Human Potential, 1973) p.7.

achievement of that goal is this:

1. People behave in ways that are consistent with their perceptions, i.e., what is reality for them.

2. People, young people in particular, tend to see themselves through the eyes of other people who are important to them. Their concepts of themselves are based in large measure on what significant others say and do.

3. As people grow older - mature - they achieve the capacity for self-definition (self-creation) and self-actualization. (Where there is great disparity between the self as defined in 2. above and the self which one may choose to create (actualize) in 3., the road to self-creation is not easy).

4. In America, the message that the larger society delivers to its minority group members is powerful, largely negative, and such as to raise questions in the minds of minority group people regarding their ability, worth and dignity. Education can be the handmaiden of the larger society as it speaks to its minority people, or it can speak independently.

5. People in helping roles can assist other people in changing their perceptions.

Put in the context of education:

1. Students and teachers behave in ways that are consistent with their perceptions.

   a. Teachers' self-perceptions influence their behavior.

   b. Teachers' perceptions of students determine to a very large extent how they behave toward their students.

c. Students' perceptions of themselves determine in large measure how they behave.

2. Students, especially elementary level students, tend to see themselves through the eyes of their teachers because teachers are significant others in their lives. Because teachers are significant others in the lives of students, students' perceptions of themselves are influenced, and to a large extent shaped, by the behavior of teachers. Teachers play an important role in the development of students' self-concepts.

3. At some time during a child's school career he acquires the capacity for creating his own identity and taking charge of his own life. His experiences, both in and out of school, prior to this time will influence the ease or difficulty with which the student creates his identity and takes charge of his life.

4. Educators have the power to reinforce the message that the larger society delivers to minority group students; they have the power to confute it.

5. Administrators can assist teachers in developing more positive perceptions of their students.

The quality of a young child's and to some extent an older person's experiences determines his self-concept or self-image. The self-concept in turn determines what perceptions a person will make from the almost infinite number available to him. This includes not only what he selects to perceive, but also how he interprets what he selects. And what a person perceives, what is real to him,

determines how he behaves. A person tends to perceive events in terms of whether these events or experiences are consistent with his self-concept.

The quality of the experiences of minority group children in America has been such as to produce in school-age children weak, negative and self-defeating conceptions of themselves. Any educational program aimed at improving education for these children that failed to take into account the experiences of minority children and the effect that these experiences have on their developing self-concepts, and on the reinforcement of these self-concepts continually through their lives is doomed to failure. Stated differently, any school or school system that is serious about the business of education for minority group children must deal with the effects of self-concept on growth and development. It seems clear that the basis for any growth is the person's conception of himself.

> To say that the self-concept is the prime factor controlling all human behavior is not overstating the case. In fact, the self-concept is becoming a more important dimension in the control of human behavior than has been generally realized.[3]

The large majority of black and other minority group students in this country live in a hostile environment. The impact of such an environment on these pupils has been devastating. Virtually all of the institutions in America today have contributed

---

[3]Wallace D. La Benne and Bert I. Greene, Educational Implications of Self-Concept Theory (Pacific Palisades, Ca.: Goodyear Publishing, 1969) p. 18.

to this devastation. These include the governmental, political, economic, social, mass media as well as the educational institutions. America's "disadvantaged" and poor are, by definition, different from other Americans. The poor are expected, by the general public, and often by themselves, to fail. These are the people to whom America's institutions and majority group have relegated to second, third and fourth class citizenship, and have told: we don't like you; we don't want you around us; you are dirty, lazy and immoral; you are ignorant, stupid and incapable of learning; you are unworthy of respect; you have no rights except as we grant them to you; you have no right to dissent, and we will not allow it (the deaths of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X); your lives are not important; your cultural heritage is primitive; your humanity is to be denied; you must not increase your numbers in proportion to ours (sterilization, genocide); we will not (cannot) educate you, etc..

It will be accepted as axiomatic that children see themselves through the eyes of people who are important to them.[4] These people are most often parents, television personalities, athletic and movie heroes, teachers, ministers, physicians, the neighborhood gang leader, the President of the United States and others. That is to say, these people "tell" children about themselves; the children come to think of themselves in these ways. In a sense, then, these people become the "mirrors" through which young children see themselves.

---

[4]Support for this idea will be discussed in later chapters.

What do these minority group young children "see" when they look into these "mirrors?" So very often, they see something ignorant ("Look at your achievement test scores!"), unteachable ("Witness the scientific findings of Jensen and Shockley."), lazy and unemployable ("Don't hire them. If you do, give them menial jobs, pay them little, watch them all the time, and don't promote them unless you have to."), something to be avoided ("Don't bus them to our schools," and "Don't invite them to . . .."), not to be trusted ("Don't let them have any power, even over themselves; don't let them control the police or schools in their own neighborhoods."), dependent ("Look how many of them are on welfare!"), etc..

This message reaches minority group children before they reach school age. They get it, often inadvertantly, through parents, siblings, friends and neighbors, the media, and, most importantly, through their own direct experiences in their world. Where and how do they live? What do they eat? What do they wear? What do they own? Where do the adults in their lives work and what can their earnings buy? What is the neighborhood like? What is the school like? How do their older brothers and sisters do in school? How do they feel about school? Who are the teachers and administrators? Who are the police, and how do they behave in the community? Where is violence and death? Where is sickness and misery?

Compare the answers that these young children are likely to give to these questions with their answer to the following question: "What is life like for <u>other people</u>?"

The effect of this "world view" on the self-concepts of young children should be clear. The Not OK position[5] is certainly justified and reinforced and is continually justified and reinforced by the larger society throughout the students' school careers.

The teacher enters the life of the child as a very "significant other" when the child enters kindergarten, and very often continues to be so throughout the child's school life. As a "significant other" the teacher is in a position to greatly influence the developing self-concept of the child. This includes the concept of his own ability to succeed and his sense of worth and value.

Considering what America's institutions and individuals have said to the child, the school's task is compounded. The school must not only teach the child, but must also assist him in feeling good about himself, and about himself in school. In this latter task the school must attempt to overcome the message already delivered to the child by the institutions and people of this country. At this stage in the life of the child the teacher can play a vital and most important role.

The position taken by this writer is that one of the strongest determinants of a teacher's or administrator's behavior toward his students is his perceptions of those students. This position is seen

---

[5]Thomas A. Harris, I'm OK -- You're OK (New York: Avon Books, 1973).

as a consequence of the notion that people act in accordance with what they see. If a person sees an object at some place in the space-time continuum, he will move toward, away from, or around it, depending upon his perceptions of its consequences or possible functions for him. Similarly, what a person perceives when he meets another determines in large measure how he will behave toward that person. If he sees the person as being ignorant, lazy, belligerant, etc., he is likely to shun him or try to control him. On the other hand, if he sees the other person as friendly, kind, intelligent, of worth and dignity, etc., he is likely to form some affinity for the other, and his behavior would reflect that affinity.

The teacher who perceives his students in negative ways; i.e., sees them as being ignorant and lazy by nature, dirty, unworthy, dishonest, etc., is likely to treat his students differently from the teacher who sees them in positive ways, i.e., as being capable, industrious, worthy, honest, etc.. The teacher or administrator who believes that his students are capable of learning will behave differently toward them than the teacher or administrator who feels his students are uneducable.

Unfortunately, the message conveyed by society to school teachers and administrators about their urban, black, Spanish-speaking, poor, etc. students is much the same as the message, described earlier, which society transmits to the "disadvantaged" students themselves. And the effect of that message is such as to lead the school teachers and administrators to believe that when they work with "disadvantaged"

students, they face an extremely difficult if not impossible task. These beliefs are reinforced by information which is presented to school personnel (in the form of the Coleman data, etc.[6]) as well as by their own failures in educating their students.

The following statements are some of those made to the press by Washington, D. C. school system administrators and teachers, as well as students, on the occasion of the School Superintendent's decision to leave his position after three years in the city, and after the School Board decided not to renew his contract. These statements were published in a Washington newspaper.[7]

> "He faced an impossible situation. Evidently it took him two years to realize that, but I think an intelligent man would leave." -- a high school teacher

> "I think he has done the best he could in this situation. It was a very rough situation for anyone to be thrown into." -- a high school principal

> "The system is faced with insoluble problems." -- a junior high school principal

> "I think the school system's such a mess that there's not much that anybody could do." -- a high school student

> "The job was too big for him. I happen to feel it is still possible to find someone who believes in the educability of these children, which he never did." -- a former school board member

---

[6] J. S. Coleman et al, Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1966).

[7] The Washington Post (Wednesday, January 10, 1973).

If indeed the pessimism expressed in this article is generalizable to urban teachers, administrators and students elsewhere, and if the assumption is correct that negative perceptions result in "negative" behavior, then it would seem that a first priority for those concerned with urban education would be the development of positive perceptions of students by teachers, administrators, the students themselves, and all others involved in the educational process.

If teachers are in the position to influence the direction of children's developing self-concepts, then it would seem to be of the greatest urgency that educators explore ways in which teachers' influences can be directed toward aiding students in developing more positive self-perceptions. Concomitantly, educators must explore ways in which teachers' perceptions of their students can be enhanced. As stated, teachers' perceptions of their students have great influence on their behavior toward students. Effective school administrators -- principals, supervisors, superintendents, etc. -- play a large part in the lives of the teachers with whom they work. They are responsible for the physical plant in which teachers spend their days; for the assignment of teachers to classes of students; for the scheduling of classes for teachers; for the curriculum; for staff development/in-service activities; for the evaluation of teacher effectiveness; for interacting with communities in ways that have impact on teachers and on teachers' jobs; for the

allocation of money to teachers and departments for the purchase of instructional materials and services; for assemblies and other more or less formal school activities; for the school environment, etc.. In short, administrators are in a position to exert great influence on the lives of teachers, at least during their working days. And, administrators have perhaps the best vantage points for influencing teachers' perceptions of students.

Dissertation outline.

Chapter I. Introduction

- The Aim and Design of the Dissertation
- General statement of the Problem
- Dissertation Goal
- Goal of Education
- Rationale
- Dissertation Outline
- Methodology
- Definitions

Status of Related Research

Generalizations

Chapter II. Related Ideas

Psychology

- Perceptual Psychology
- Maslow
- B. F. Skinner
- Transactional Analysis

Philosophy of Existence

Administration

- Life Cycle Theory
- The Individual in the Organization
- Change

Methodology. The body of this dissertation is devoted primarily to:

1. a review and discussion of literature as a means of identifying information and ideas which relate to the question of what administrators can do to aid teachers in improving their perceptions of their students, and

2. applications of ideas, constructs and information gleaned from the review, as well as from the writer's own experiences as an urban school supervisor and high school principal, to the specific roles that administrators play in their work with teachers and to the specific tasks that are part of an administrators responsibilities, to the extent that administrators, in these various roles, can influence teachers' perceptions of students in a positive direction.

A review of relevant research literature follows as part of Chapter I in order to define the current status of research regarding the interactions between teachers and students as these interactions relate to teachers' perceptions of students and to students' self-concepts. Such a literature examination is designed to provide a factual foundation upon which old ideas will be examined in new ways and new ideas developed for the solution of the problem posed in the introduction.

Also included in Chapter I is a summary statement of generalizations based upon the research literature review and upon the writer's own experiences that will serve as the foundation for following discussions and the development of models.

In Chapter II literature will be reviewed as a means of identifying ideas that may provide or serve as sources for models, theories, constructs, etc., that can be used by administrators to aid teachers in enhancing their perceptions of their students. Included here as a source will be the author's experiences and reflections upon that experience. The following broad areas are explored:

1. Psychology
    a. Perceptual Psychology -- Combs and Snygg, Avila and Purkey, Ittleson and Kilpatrick, Carl Rogers
    b. Behavioral Psychology -- B. F. Skinner
    c. Transactional Analysis -- Berne, Harris
    d. Maslow
2. Philosophy of Existence

3. Administrative Theory

   a. Life Cycle Theory
   b. Leadership studies
   c. Change Theory

4. Teacher-Student Relationships and Implications

   (teaching the "disadvantaged," teaching in urban schools, Ginott, etc.)

In the selection of material for review, and in the examination of literature in those broad areas, the following are among the questions asked by this writer:

1. What is the central idea embodied in the area that might have some relevance to the problem?

2. What are the sub-themes or peripheral ideas that might have relevance?

3. What is the relationship between the central idea and the problem as viewed by this writer?

4. How does this established relationship relate to the stated goal of education -- if at all?

5. What are the relationships, if any, that exist among the various ideas?

6. What generalizations or models or constructs or theories, etc., seem justified based on the examination?

7. Are there new insights or new relationships among the ideas that relate to the problem?

8. Are there any new insights, etc., amenable to statement as generalizations, models, etc.?

9. Do the ideas have any particular relevance for administrators and teachers working with the students described in the first part of the paper?

In the examination of ideas from the various fields the writer makes no pretense that the paper is all-encompassing, but rather is an attempt to examine some hallmark ideas and authors with

a specific view toward shedding some light upon the problem with which the dissertation is concerned. Nor does the writer claim to be an expert in all the fields examined.

The eyes through which the writer examines these ideas are his personal and professional experiences and his attempts to deal with the stated problem in an urban school system.

Models for administrators for improving teachers' perceptions of students are presented in Chapter III. Inasmuch as some ideas which are explored in Chapter II are divergent, and even antithetical, the writer does not propose to derive a set of psychologically or logically consistent constructs or models. In fact, it is the assumption of this writer that divergent models will emerge; and while it would be neat to be able to develop a single model that would solve the problem, such a model is not likely to be realistic. Individuals respond in different ways to the same stimulus and different stimuli may elicit the same behavior in different individuals. Where strongly divergent models emerge, the writer emphasizes those that are consistent with both his own stated point of view and with what he considers to be most productive in achieving what he accepts as the goal of education. Where an integrating theme or thread emerges that enables the various ideas to be synthesized, the writer so indicates. No special effort is made to reconcile widely differing points of view.

In Chapter IV the constructs, models, and ideas derived from the examination of the literature will be applied to the specific

roles that administrators play in working with teachers to the extent that the administrator in these various roles can influence teachers' perceptions of students in a positive direction. Among these roles are the following: staff development and supervision, curriculum development, community relations and management of the school environment. Each of these roles is placed face-to-face with the constructs and ideas to determine whether there are implications in the constructs for how administrators can promote more positive perceptions of students by teachers and by the students themselves. Where implications have been identified, they are elaborated upon with respect to the particular role.

A summary, conclusions and recommendations are included in Chapter V.

Definitions. Models -- well-developed descriptive analogies used to help visualize, often in a simplified form, phenomena that cannot be easily or directly observed. Models are projections of possible systems of relationships among phenomena expressed in verbal, material, graphic or symbolic terms.[8]

Perceptions -- the meanings an individual attaches to his experiences. Perceptions are assumptions made on the basis of personal experience about what things are like and what they will continue to be like.

Self-perceptions -- an individual's perceptions of himself as he experiences the world and interacts with other people.

---

[8]Richard E. Snow, "Theory Construction for Research on Teaching," in Travers (ed.) Second Handbook of Research on Teaching (Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1973) p. 81.

Self-concept -- the complex of all those perceptions to which an individual refers when he says "I" or "me." [9] The self-concept is the individual's total appraisal of his appearance, background and origin, abilities and resources, attitudes and feelings.[10] It is his view of what he is, has been and might become.

Student achievement -- a measurement of student performance on standardized tests as the student's score is compared with a national sample.

Self-actualization -- the individual's actualization of his potentialities, capacities, capabilities and talents in becoming fully all that it is possible for him to become. Self-actualization can apply to the individual in a particular role -- self-actualization as a teacher, artist, parent, etc. -- or can apply to the individual's actualization of many facets of his being. The following characteristics of self-actualizing people as described by Maslow[11] are accepted for the purpose of the dissertation as an operational definition of the self-actualizing person:

1. a superior perception of reality
2. increased acceptance of self and others
3. increased spontaneity

---

[9] A. W. Combs, D. Avila and W. Purkey, Helping Relationships: Basic Concepts for the Helping Professions (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1972) p. 39.

[10] LaBenne and Greene, p. 18

[11] Abraham Maslow, Toward a Psychology of Being (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1962).

4. increased autonomy

5. increased identity with humanity

6. improved interpersonal relationships

7. increased creativity

Teachers' positive perceptions of students -- perceptions held by the teacher which portray students positively: as worthy of respect and trust, as possessing valuable ideas and as having had valuable experiences, as responsible, as capable, as able to succeed, as friendly, and as having the potentiality for growth toward self-actualization. The following teacher behaviors constitute an operational definition of teachers' positive perceptions of students:

1. Expects any unselected group of students to have the ability to achieve at a normal level.

2. Provides opportunities for students to assume increasing responsibility for their own lives.

3. assesses the student's level of maturity and provides experiences appropriate to that level and holds student accountable for work at that level.

4. Is courteous in interactions with students.

5. Gives the student opportunities to express his own ideas and feelings.

6. Encourages students to actively participate in class activities.

7. Evaluates the work that the student does, but avoids making judgments about the student's worth.

Teachers' negative perceptions of students -- those perceptions which portray students as lazy, inferior, irresponsible, prone to failure, dishonest, without initiative, unintelligent, as always (regardless of maturity) requiring strict supervision, as threatening,

as having inclinations toward criminality, immoral, culturally deprived. The following teacher behaviors constitute an operational definition of teachers' negative perceptions of students"

1. The opposites of the positive behaviors listed above.
2. Expresses negative judgments to the child about the child's self.
3. Ignores students' ideas and feelings.
4. Uses inappropriate terms in referring to students, such as "boy," "girl," etc..
5. Is lax with respect to maintaining standards of behavior and performance.
6. Consistently tells students what to do.
7. Does not provide students with opportunities to work out or think through the solutions to problems.
8. Consistently supervises students closely to monitor for instances of vandalism, theft, cheating, lying, etc..
9. Poses situations where students repeatedly fail, and emphasizes failure.

Teachers' Perceptions of Students: A Review of Related Research

This section is a review and discussion of the literature related to:

The Propositions: Teachers' perceptions of students play a vital role in the students' growth and development in school. Teachers, in the capacity of significant others need to view students in essentially positive ways and hold favorable expectations for them. Administrators can influence teachers' perceptions of students.

Operational definitions used in research of positive perceptions and favorable expectations.

Current efforts directed toward enhancing teachers perceptions of and expectations for students.

The propositions. Staines[12] categorized teachers on the bases of words and management techniques used by these teachers which, in his opinion, were likely to modify students' self-pictures, and found that it is possible to distinquish reliably between teachers with respect to the frequency and kinds of comments they make with reference to the self. He then demonstrated that it is possible, using words and management techniques, for a teacher to change a child's perceptions of himself.

Staines considered the self to be a "learned structure" (perceptual data transformed mentally to a structure or concept), growing mainly in response to environmental stimuli (comments made by other people and inferences drawn from their behavior). He considered teachers to be among the most influential people in determining the child's self, and observed teachers to make frequent comments on the child's self: "Let Rosemary go first, she's small." Some teachers, he observed, made self-referential comments more frequently than others. He formulated the following hypothesis: teachers may be reliably distinguished by the frequency of their use of words and comments which, in the opinion of competent judges, are likely to mold the self.

To test this hypothesis competent judges (Staines himself, and two school counselors were trained in psychology) recorded all

---

[12]J. W. Staines, "The Self-Picture as a Factor in the Classroom," British Journal of Educational Psychology, 28 (1958) pp. 97-111.

that the teacher-subjects said in their classrooms. The data was classified and reported in terms of these dimensions of the self: performance, status, values and wants. Each teacher statement relating to these dimensions was rated as: positive (the effect of the comment on the child to whom it was directed was judged to be positive), negative, neutral or "ambi" (positive for some children and negative for others). From this data Staines calculated a potency score (the total of all scores relating to the child's confidence in any aspect of himself, derived by subtracting the negative from the positive teacher comments).

Teachers differed considerably in the categories of the self and differed in the potency dimension. The hypothesis was supported: marked differences occurred among teachers in the frequence of self-reference in their comments in the classroom, particularly in the frequencies of positive or negative comments on the child's status or performance.

Staines then tested this hypothesis: teachers who differ in the frequency of their self-referential comments will produce significantly different self-pictures in their students. The results can be stated as follows:

1. The class of one teacher (A) who consciously made positive self-referential comments and made very few negative comments (as previously categorized), after twelve weeks of instruction, ranked significantly higher on the following "most true of me" statements (from the Staines self-rating card test administered before and after the twelve-week period) than the class of teacher (B) who showed a low frequency of positive and a higher frequency of negative comments:

"I try to play fair;" "I am good at games;" "I am willing to try things no matter how hard they are;" "I like hobbies."

2. Class (A) showed no gain between pre and post testing in the "I make up my own mind" item; class (B) showed a significant decrease in responses to this item.

3. Class (A) students evidenced significantly increased certainty in describing themselves (using the Self-Rating Card Test); class (B) showed no increased certainty.

4. There was no significant difference between classes (A) and (B) as measured by standardized achievement tests administered before and after the instructional period.

Davidson and Lang[13] related students' self-perceptions to academic achievement. After administering a Check List of Trait Names (a hard worker, a nuisance, lazy, dependable, etc.) to measure self-perceptions and perceptions of the feelings of others to upper elementary school students in a New York City public school, they concluded that the more positive a child's perceptions of a teacher's feelings toward him, the better his academic achievement and the more desirable his classroom behavior. They hypothesized positive correlations between:

1. the child's perceptions of his teachers feelings toward him and the child's perceptions of himself;

2. favorable perceptions of teachers' feelings and good academic achievement;

3. favorable perceptions of teachers' feelings and desirable classroom behavior.

---

[13]H. Davidson and G. Lang, "Children's Perceptions of their Teachers Feelings Toward Them Related to Self-Perception, School Achievement and Behavior," Journal of Experimental Education, 29 (1960) 107-118.

The subjects of the study were two hundred and five students and ten teachers. The findings of this study can be stated in this way: using the Check List of Trait Names, an adjective check consisting of thirty-five descriptive terms (some terms favorable, some terms unfavorable and some neutral) to measure self-perceptions and perceptions of the feelings of others, the researchers found that the children's perceptions of their teachers' feeling toward them correlated positively and significantly with their self-perceptions. The child with the more positive self-image was the one who, more likely than not, perceived his teacher's feelings toward him favorably. This finding lends support to the view that a child's assessment of himself is related to the assessment that "significant people" (in this case, teachers) make of him.

The teachers rated their pupils on academic achievement on a four point scale: very well, adequately, below average, and very poorly. With respect to hypothesis one, Davidson and Lang state that: there exists a significant positive relationship between students' favorable perceptions of their teachers' feelings and academic achievement. It would be more accurate, in this writer's opinion, to state the finding this way: there exists a significant positive relationship between students' favorable perceptions of their teachers' feelings and teachers' perceptions of their students' academic achievement.

The teachers rated each child on ten behavioral or personality characteristics (four desirable traits: eager, obedient, cooperative,

assertive; and six undesirable traits: disorderly, destructive, hostile, defiant, unfriendly, troublesome). The conclusion which can be drawn from the information reported: there exists a significant positive correlation between students' favorable perceptions of teachers' feelings and teachers' perceptions of students' classroom behavior.

Davidson and Lang report additional findings which indicate that children in the upper and middle social class groups (groups divided on basis of parents' occupations) perceived their teachers' feelings more favorably than did children in the lower social class group. Upper and middle class children perceived themselves more favorably than did lower class children. Students' social class was also found to be positively related to teachers' perceptions of students' achievement in school. Teachers perceived the upper and middle class children as better achievers, academically, than the lower class children.

Brookover, Thomas and Paterson[14] suggested further that improved student self-concept results from positive expectations and evaluations by significant others as perceived by students, and additionally, that improved (positive) student self-concept of ability correlates with increased achievement and success in school. The sample consisted of 1050 seventh grade students in an

---

[14] W. Brookover, S. Thomas and A. Paterson, "Self-Concept of Ability and School Achievement," Sociology of Education, 39 (Spring, 1964) 271-278.

urban school system.[15]

The investigators held that, when applied to the school learning situation, a relevant aspect of self-concept is the student's conception of his own ability to learn the accepted types of academic behavior. Their study focused on the self-concept of ability in school and academic achievement, and tested three hypotheses, two of which are particularly relevant to this review:

1. Self concept of ability in school is significantly and positively related to the academic performance of students, even when the students are judged to be of equal ability.

2. Self concept of ability is significantly and positively correlated with the evaluation that the student perceives others to hold of his ability.

To measure self-concept of academic ability an eight-item multiple choice questionnaire was developed. The IQ variable was controlled (using an average of two CTMM scores for each student). Grade point average was used as the index of academic performance. Brookover et al demonstrated that: there is a significant and positive correlation between students' academic performance (GPA) and self-concept of ability in school.

The second hypothesis was tested using as significant others mothers, father, teacher and peers. The students were asked questions about the significant others' perceptions directly parallel to the eight questions which the students were asked about their self-perceptions. The correlations between self-concept of ability and students' evaluations

---

[15]Negro students were excluded from the study on the investigators' assumption that their self-concepts of ability and its relation to achievement would differ from those of the white population.

of the perceptions of each of the four significant others were all moderately high and roughly comparable. The highest correlation was between self-concept of ability and a composite (sum) of the perceived evaluations of all four significant others.

Teachers' expectations for and perceptions of students in relation to students' self concept and academic performance have been given considerable attention in the literature. Likewise, the assumption that one possible cause for the demonstrated low academic performance of black/minority inner city students is that their teachers do not expect them to succeed has been repeatedly expressed.[16] The Haryou Report (Youth in the Ghetto)[17] cities as the single most damaging factor in limiting achievement potential the assumption that black children cannot learn, and the acceptance of substandard performance as inevitable. Vinter and Sarri[18] contend that teachers have helped fulfill the prophecy of failure for black youth. When children are taught effectively, without regard to social status, they learn; when judgments about their ability are made, the

---

[16]H. S. Becker, "Social Class Variations in the Teacher-Student Relationship," Journal of Educational Sociology, 25 (1952) pp. 451-466.

[17]Youth in the Ghetto, Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited (New York: Oran Press, 1964) p. 197.

[18]R. D. Vinter and R. C. Sarri, "Malperformance in the Public School," Social Work, 10, No. 1 (1965) 3-13.

results tend to justify the assumption that children will fail.[19 & 20] Yee[21 & 22] also emphasizes the importance of teachers' perceptions and attitudes, specifically in the lives of lower-class and minority students: since lower-class, minority pupils have fewer sources of support at home and in their immediate environments, they are influenced more in school by teachers than are students of middle-class and white backgrounds.

One line of research suggests that teachers treat children differently in accordance with differential expectations for them. That teachers feel differently about different students, as evidenced by their statements about various students, has been shown.[23] Teachers form inferences about personalities and expectations for achievement for students on the bases of such cues as: physical

---

[19] Kenneth B. Clark, Dark Ghetto (New York: Harpers, 1965).

[20] Walter Goodman, "Kenneth Clark's Revolutionary Slogan: Just Teach Them to Read," The New York Times Magazine (March 18, 1973).

[21] A. H. Yee, Factors Involved in Determining the Relationship Between Teachers' and Pupils' Attitudes (Austin, Texas, Univ. of Texas, 1966).

[22] Ibid., "Source and Direction of Causal Influence in Teacher-Pupil Relationships," Journal of Educational Psychology, 58 (1968) pp. 275-282.

[23] Jackson, Silberman and Wolfson, "Signs of Personal Involvement in Teachers' Descriptions of Students," Journal of Educational Psychology, Vol. 60 (1969), pp. 22-27.

appearance, language, speech and dialect,[24 & 25] socio-economic status and race,[26 & 27] and combinations thereof. That differential attitudes are associated with differential behavior has also been shown.[28]

Silberman obtained responses from classroom teachers to these items, which he categorized as indicative of attachment, concern, indifference and rejection:

1. If you could keep one student one more year, which one would you pick? (Attachment)

2. If you could devote all of your time to one child, which one would you pick? (Concern)

3. If a parent were to appear suddenly for a conference about his child, which child would you be least prepared to talk about? (Indifference)

4. If you could select one child to leave your class which one would you pick? (Rejection)

By observation, Silberman characterized teachers' behavior toward those students they identified in the above categories:

> Attachment behavior -- teachers praised those students more often than others, and held them up as models before their classes.

---

[24] J. T. Guskin, The Social Perception of Language Variations: Black Dialect and Expectations of Ability, from the proceedings of the American Educational Research Association (1970).

[25] Frederick Williams and Jack L. Whitehead, "Language in the Classroom: Studies of the Pygmalion Effect," English Record, 21,2 (April, 1971) pp. 108-113.

[26] Richard Gilberts et al, Teacher Perceptions of Race, Socio-Economic Status and Language Characteristics (1971) ED052131.

[27] Ray C. Rist, "Student Social Class and Teacher Expectations: The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy in Ghetto Education," Harvard Educational Review, 40,3 (August, 1970).

[28] Melvin Silberman, "Behavioral Expression of Teacher Attitudes toward Elementary School Children" Journal of Educational Psychology 60 (1969), pp. 402-407.

Concern behavior -- these students received most of the teachers' time and attention; teachers initiated frequent contact with them, they were praised and rewarded frequently, and were subjected to few restrictions.

Indifference behavior -- teachers had less contact with these students than with others. (No other differences were observed or reported).

Rejection behavior -- these students most frequently received criticism when they approached the teacher; they were under relatively constant teacher surveillance, they had frequent contact with the teacher, whose behavior toward them involved mostly attempts to control, the students were frequently praised or criticized in public.

Brophy and Good[29] obtained responses to the above-mentioned questions and then collected data in nine first grade classrooms: three in upper-middle class white areas, three in lower class white and three in lower class black neighborhoods. Each class was observed for 2 1/2 hours on two different days; observers used the Brophy-Good Dyadic Interaction System,[30] to record teacher behavior toward the students the teachers identified in response to the four questions. Teacher behavior toward the students could be characterized in a way quite similar to the descriptions by Silberman, with the following additional behaviors described:

Attachment behavior -- those students identified in response to question one received more praise and less criticism from teachers than other students in the classes; they spoke more often in class discussions, but were called on less often by the teachers; teachers asked these students more open-ended questions than other students.

---

[29] T. Good and J. Brophy, Behavioral Expression of Teacher Attitudes, proceedings of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, April, 1972. ED 065597.

[30] J. Brophy and T. Good, Teacher Influence on Student Behavior (New York: Holt, Rinehard, Winston, 1972).

Concern behavior -- those students identified in response to question two had more frequent and longer contact with their teachers; teachers responded more favorably to these students' failures than to failures of other students.

Indifference behavior -- those students identified in response to question three received fewer opportunities to respond or speak in class than did other students; teachers initiated fewer contacts with these students, and praised or criticized them less frequently than other students.

Rejection behavior -- those students identified in response to question four received a very low frequency of open-ended, or questions requiring thought and explanation; they were asked disproportionately more questions requiring a short answer; they were called on less frequently by the teachers, even when they raised their hands to respond; they received little teacher feedback and more criticism than did other students in the classes.

In short, Silberman's and Brophy and Good's reported observations indicate that teachers demanded better performance from and were more likely to praise good performance when they were interacting with students for whom the teachers expressed attachment or concern. Brophy and Good report little difference in teacher responses and behavior toward children of different socio-economic classes; this must be considered in the context of their research design: teachers interacted with classes which were homogenous with regard to socio-economic status. Brophy and Good supply no information to enable characterization of students for which teachers expressed attachment, concern, indifference or rejection.

Another research effort has tested the hypothesis that raising teachers expectations for students would raise those students' academic

achievements or I.Q.s. While Rosenthal and Jacobson[31 & 32] reported that teachers' positive expectations were shown to be responsible for gains in student I.Q.s, controversy has raged over the creditability of their findings. Studies of like design, before[33 & 34] and after[35, 36, 37 & 38] the Rosenthal and Jacobson effort have reported no relationship existing between teacher expectations and student achievement. Studies using variations and extentions of the Rosenthal and Jacobson design have reported conclusions similar to those reported in Pygmalion in the Classroom. This writer will discuss in the following pages the Rosenthal and Jacobson and other representative studies in order to elucidate some of the major issues in the controversy and to describe the state of the argument at the present.

---

[31]"Teacher Expectations for the Disadvantaged," Scientific American, 1968, pp. 19-23.

[32]Pygmalion in the Classroom: Teacher Expectations and Pupils' Intellectual Development (New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1968 .

[33]C. C. V. Pitt, An Experimental Study of the Effects of Teachers' Knowledge or Incorrect Knowledge of Student I.Q.s on Teacher Attitudes and Practices on Students' Attitudes and Achievement, doctoral dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1956.

[34]C. E. Flowers, Effects of an Arbitrary Accelerated Group Placement on the Tested Academic Achievement of Educationally Disadvantaged Students, doctoral dissertation, Teachers College, 1966.

[35]M. Haberman, The Relationship of Bogus Expectations to Success in Student Teaching, proceedings of AERA, 1970.

[36]J. F. Jacobs and W. C. Richard, Teacher Expectations: the Effects Upon Peer Acceptance, proceedings of the American Educational Research Association, 1970.

[37]Flemming and Anttonen, Teacher Expectancy or My Fair Lady, proceedings of the American Educational Research Association, 1970.

[38]Jean Jose and John Cody, "Teacher-Pupil Interaction as it Relates to Attempted Changes in Teacher Expectancy of Academic Ability and Achievement," American Educational Research Journal, VIII, 1 (January, 1971) pp. 39-50.

Rosenthal and Jacobson proposed that students, more often than not, do what is expected of them, after having found that children who were expected by teachers to gain intellectually showed greater gains after one year than did students for whom the teachers did not hold those positive expectations. In their study false information to the effect that certain students could be expected to "bloom academically" was given to teachers. The results showed that those students identified as "bloomers" (students in grades one through six were subjects) gained significantly in I.Q. from pre to post testing, the greatest gain being shown among children in the first and second grades. The advantage of being expected to "bloom" was evident for these younger children in total I.Q., verbal I.Q. and reasoning I.Q..

A study by Jose and Cody[39] shows that when information was given to a teacher with respect to the academic ability of his students (which was contrary to beliefs about the students' ability already held by the teacher), the teacher's behavior toward those students (as measured by the Bales Interaction Analysis) did not change, and there was no change in student achievement, suggesting that giving information to teachers about students may not be sufficient for changing their behavior toward those students.

Jose and Cody conclude that teacher expectancy, defined as the information which teachers were given (false information) about students who could be expected to show great academic progress in

---

[39] Ibid.

terms of falsified scores on a "pre-test," had little effect on the teachers' overt behavior. Teacher behavior (measured by Bales I.A.) did not change to a statistically significant degree, and there was, as reported, little consistency in the direction of change. However, these changes in teacher behavior were reported: with respect to those children who were identified to teachers as having academic promise positive teacher actions (categorized as rewards, jokes and laughs, shows acceptance, gives and asks for suggestions) increased in frequency, and negative action (shows antagonism) decreased.

Giving false information to the teachers had little effect on the academic performance of the students (I.Q.s, achievement tests, grades). Jose and Cody offer the following as possible explanations: teacher expectancy as defined may not be a good estimate of the teachers' perceptions of the students' abilities: possibly, simply giving teachers information was not enough to cause them to expect the students to perform in one way or another; the teachers may have already developed expectations for their students which were not changed when new information was given.

Other investigators have dealt with the possibility that one reason for the seemingly contradictory outcomes of this body of research is that the basic experimental manipulation -- artificially "changing" teachers' expectations -- might not be effective. For example, following the Rosenthal and Jacobson study, the teachers who participated in that research could not remember which students were

supposed to be "bloomers," as designated by the investigators. Additionally, the question of why a teacher should place greater credence on an experimenter's report of test scores, or on other information given by investigators, than upon evidence available to him in his daily work in the classroom, clearly arises.

It seems reasonable to assume that teachers expectations have many determinants: test scores,[40] classroom performance, behavior, personality, appearance, being among the determinants. Ample data exists to indicate that middle and upper class white students generally outperform lower class and black students in school;[41] it is reasonable to believe that teachers expect more of them, making appearance and socio-economic status important determinants of teacher expectancies. Gaskin[42] found, for example, that student teachers' expectations were lower for a child presented to them on audio tape who spoke in a black dialect than for a child speaking identical material in standard english. Other investigators have demonstrated that students' classroom behavior outweighs other

---

[40]G. Gibson, "Aptitude Tests," Science, 149 (1965) p. 583.

[41]J. S. Coleman et al, Equality of Educational Opportunity, (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1966)

[42]The Social Perception of Language Variations: Black Dialect and Expectations of Ability, Proceedings of the American Educational Research Association, 1970.

information -- problem solving ability, I.Q. and background -- as influencers of teacher expectations.[43]

More recently Long and Henderson[44] attempted to define more clearly those variables which might affect teacher expectancy, by separately assessing the character and the relative strengths and interaction effects of: students' race, socio-economic class, kindergarten readiness test scores, behavior (active or passive) and attention. The investigators hypothesized that: high test scores and active and attentive classroom behavior would be associated with higher teacher expectancies. The research was conducted in a university setting. One hundred twenty teachers were given race, class, test score and behavior data on contrived stimulus first-grade students; that is, they were given contrived data on imaginary students, and were asked to assess the probability that the students, who had just entered school (hypothetically), would be reading on grade level by grade two. Long and Henderson found significant effects on teacher expectancy for: test scores, activity level, and attention; and for the interactions of test score x activity level, test score x attention, test score x race, race x socio-economic class x activity level, test score x activity level x attention. Teachers agreed

---

[43] T. J. Johnson, T. Baldwin and D. E. Wiley, "The Teacher's Perception and Attribution of Causation," Final Report: Project 5-1068 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1969).

[44] Barbara Long and Edmund Henderson, The Effect of Pupils' Race, Class, Test Scores and Classroom Behavior on the Academic Expectancies of Southern and Non-Southern White Teachers: proceedings of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago (April, 1972).

that active, attentive children, who scored high on tests would learn, regardless of their race or background. The acceptance of test scores by teachers as determinants of expectancy was tempered by the behavior of the child -- teachers generally did not expect passive, inattentive high-scorers to reach grade level in two years. Teachers indicated higher expectations for passive blacks than for passive white students, but indicated lower expectations for active black than for active white students.

The lack of significant main effects in the findings of this research for class and for race suggests that race and class biases on teacher expectancies are not simple (though possibly the artificial, university setting in which this research was conducted mitigated against prejudice). In this study, the interactions which seem to be of greatest interest are those involving race and class as well as test scores, behavior and attention. In conclusion, there exists the probability that classroom behavior interacts with student background and test scores in affecting teacher expectancies. Studies which artificially manipulate test scores of pupils in attempts to influence teacher expectations are probably proceeding on the basis of an oversimplified model.

To summarize the discussion of the research up to this point, there is significant evidence to indicate that teachers' attitudes, perceptions and opinions regarding students, as well as the students' perceptions of these relate positively to students' self-perceptions

and success in school, and that positive perceptions and favorable expectations held by teachers for students are related to enhancement of students' self-perceptions and to increased academic achievement.

Operational definitions. Evidence can be found in the literature regarding what has been meant, in experimental studies, by positive perceptions and favorable expectations. The following dimensions are among those which have been studied:

> Teacher holds pupil in esteem (Moustakas).[45]
>
> Teachers are calm, accepting and supportive -- as opposed to threatening, grim and sarcastic (Spaulding).[46]
>
> Teachers work with parents to enhance their (the parents') expectations and evaluations of their children (Brookover).[47]
>
> Teachers establish a high degree of private or semi-private communication with students (Spaulding).[48]
>
> Teachers express approval (Ludwig and Maehr).[49]

---

[45] Clark Moustakas, The Authentic Teacher: Sensitivity and Awareness in the Classroom (Cambridge, Mass.: Howard A. Doyle Co., 1966).

[46] R. L. Spaulding, Achievement, Creativity and Self-Concept Correlates of Teacher-Pupil Transactions in Elementary Schools, U. S. Office of Education, Cooperative Research Report No. 1352 (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1963).

[47] Brookover, Thomas and Paterson, (1964).

[48] Spaulding (1963).

[49] D. J. Ludwig and M. L. Maehr, "Changes in Self-Concept and Stated Behavioral Preferences," Child Development, 38 (1967), pp. 453-467.

Tasks are presented in a non-threatening way (Sarason).[50]

Teachers act as if students were able to deal with their problems and handle their lives (Combs).[51]

Teachers act as if students were important people, and worthy of respect (Combs).[52]

Teachers act as if students were trustworthy and dependable (Combs).[53]

Ray C. Rist[54] reports an observational study of a group of ghetto children during their kindergarten, first and second grade years, in an attempt to point out the ways in which schooling reinforces the class structure of society. He shows that the childrens' kindergarten teacher placed the students in classroom groups which reflected the students' social class membership, and that these groups were maintained during the following years. His report illustrates a social process occuring in the classroom whereby out of a large group of children and an adult (unknown to each other prior to the beginning of the school year) there emerge patterns of behavior, expectations for performance, and a mutually accepted grouping delineating those doing well from those doing poorly. The major objective of his analysis was to ascertain the importance of initial

---

[50]I. G. Sarason, "The Effects of Anxiety and Threat on the Solution of a Difficult Task," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 62 (1961) pp. 165-168.

[51]Arthur W. Combs et al, Florida Studies in the Helping Professions, Social Science Monograph 37, (Gainesville: Univ. of Fla. Press,

[52]Ibid.

[53]Ibid.

[54]Rist (1970)

expectations of the teacher in relation to the child's chances of success or failure within the public school system. Rist found that the kindergarten teacher envisioned an ideal type of public school student based on what she thought a child who will do well in school is like. These characteristics of the ideal type appeared to be related significantly to social class: appearance, verbal ability, family economic condition (school system questionnaires provided the teacher with this information) parents education (also provided by the questionnaire). Upon first meeting the students, the kindergarten teacher subjectively evaluated them in terms of her ideal type, and on this basis, divided the class into two groups -- fast learners and slow learners. Differential treatment was accorded the two groups. The group she had labeled fast learners received the majority of the teacher's time and attention in the classroom; they were kept in close physical proximity to the teacher; the teacher used the section of blackboard closest to this group for all lessons. The fast learners were granted privileges and used as exemplars; the teacher consistently rewarded this group. The slow learners were taught infrequently. The teacher's behavior toward this group was predominantly control-oriented. The teacher provided them little support and denied them privileges. Interaction patterns between the teacher and the two groups became rigidified during the year. The gap in completion of academic material between the two groups widened as the school year progressed. A similar process occurred during the following years: the groupings for instruction and class

activities were maintained, but the teachers no longer relied solely on subjective data as a basis for ascertaining differences among students, they were able to use a variety of sources describing past performance for classroom grouping.

Current efforts. Reports of recent studies and programs which are aimed at improving (making more positive) teachers perceptions of and expectations for students and at identifying and developing methods for doing so yield little conclusive information regarding the relative merits of the effectiveness of one method over another. Some representative studies are described in the following pages.

Donald L. Hadfield,[55 & 56] Michigan State Department of Education, has developed four simulation activities directed at assisting the development of positive attitudes and productive behavior in teachers toward different ethnic and social group students. No evaluative data is now available with respect to the effectiveness of these activities.

Robert R. Wheeler,[57] Kansas City Schools, Missouri, reports a pilot program based on the following assumptions: low achievement of disadvantaged students is due to their teachers perceptions of their ability; and negative perceptions might be reduced by improving the teachers' awareness of the children, the city community and himself

---

[55] The Anatomy of Prejudice: An Approach to In-service Education For Teachers: St. Paul, Minn: State Dept. Ed. (1970) ED 058174.

[56] Ethnic and Cultural Differences: A Suggested Approach to In-Service Training: St. Paul, Minn.: State Dept. Ed. (January, 1971) ED 058145

[57] A Group Dynamics Approach to Effective Attitudinal Change in the Teaching of Disadvantaged Children, A Pilot Program, USOE, Kansas City School District, Missouri, August, 1970.

(the teacher). The program activities (not described in the report) resulted in a positive increase in the concepts tested (semantic differential used to measure teacher attitudes): satisfaction with schools, desire for change, views others as capable, views self as capable.

The Effect of Cross-Cultural In-Service Training (Mexican-American) on Selected Attitudes of Elementary School Teachers is reported by Roger Baty, Stanford University.[58] The training program was designed to increase the teachers' understanding of their students' cultural background, and to help the teachers increase their students' self-esteem. The following dimensions were measured (by pre and post treatment administrations of the Harold A. Johnson Opinion Survey): teachers' optimistic orientation toward achievement potential and teachers' tolerance for self-assertiveness by the disadvantaged. The training program combined formal lectures with group discussions, involving strategically placed community leaders. Baty found that the treatment group, which participated in the training program, did move toward more optimism and greater tolerance, while the control group did not. He also found that teachers with one of more years experience teaching the disadvantaged were more optimistic than teachers who were new to this situation, suggesting the possible role of exposure and experience in building optimistic attitudes in teachers.

---

[58] The Effect of Cross-Cultural In-Service Training on Selected Attitudes of Elementary School Teachers: A Field Experience, Stanford Univ. (1969) ED 046902.

The Program of In-Service at the Hispanic Urban Center in Los Angeles[59] incorporates lectures, simulations and home and community visits in an effort to increase teachers' positive perceptions and behavior with respect to Mexican-American students. To date, small positive changes have been reported.

Additional programs have been directed toward similar objectives, but have not yet reported quantitative results:

> Institutes for Advanced Study for Teachers of Disadvantaged Youth (NDEA Summer In-Services, begun in 1964);
>
> Experienced Teacher Fellowship Program at the Center for Inner City Studies in Chicago begun in 1969);
>
> Operation Fair Chance at two California State Colleges;
>
> The Tri-University Project at the University of Nebraska (EPDA training for teacher-trainers).

Jeanette A. Brown et al, at the University of Virginia,[60 & 61] have designed a program to attempt to develop in teachers a consciousness of how they act in their classrooms, and of the effects of this behavior on their students. They assume that teachers will change their behavior when they are more aware of this behavior and of

---

[59]Richard Piper, Program of In-Service Education for Teachers Evaluation Report (Los Angeles: The Hispanic Urban Center, July, 1972) ED 066431.

[60]Consulting for Improved Self-Perceptions of Elementary School Children, proceedings APGA, Chicago (March, 1972). ED 067564.

[61]Changing Culture Perceptions of Elementary School Teachers, University of Virginia (April, 1972). ED 066537.

its possible effects, and that, consequently, classroom interactions will change. The researchers posed the following hypotheses:

> Given the opportunity to examine, discuss and model behavior, teachers will manifest behavior which will result in increased positive perceptions for themselves and for their students.[62]
>
> Teachers' perceptions of children's academic and social ability will relate to the children's socio-economic levels, race, sex, peer acceptance and self-perceptions.
>
> Sub-hypotheses: Teachers' perceptions relate to students' socio-economic status.[63]
>
> Teachers' interactions with students relate to the way students perceive their classmates.
>
> Teachers' perceptions relate to students' race.[64]
>
> Teachers' perceptions of students relate to students' self-perceptions.[65]

The program training sessions included discussions of the following topics: the affective and cognitive domains, how self-perceptions are learned, how certain behaviors affect other people, learning climates, the self in relation to others, and evaluation of the training. The sessions focused on video-tape analysis, using a split screen and two recorders to show students and

---

[62]Hugh V. Perkins, "Classroom Behavior and Underachievement," American Educational Research Journal, 2 (1965) pp. 1-12.

[63]Eleanor Leacock, "The Concept of Culture and Its Significance for School Counselors," Personnel and Guidance Journal, 46,9 (May, 1968) pp. 844-851.

[64]Zigler, "Social Class and the Socialization Process," Review of Educational Research, 40,1 (1970) pp. 87-111.

[65]Brookover (1964).

teachers simultaneously. Teachers observed a range of positive behaviors, and received reinforcement when positive instances of their own behaviors were shown.

Tests measuring pupil self-perceptions were administered before and after the teachers training period (one semester):

1. a perception of peer acceptance measure.
2. a self-perception of competence measure.

All teachers also rated their students before and after the training period using the items in the second measurement instrument.

Jeanette Brown reports that teachers' classroom behavior changed (observations made using Bales Interaction Analysis), and that there were significant gains in students' self-perceptions between pre and post testing. However, she reports, the teachers' perceptions of the students' self-concepts did not change. The teachers' perceptions of students' self-concepts was directly related to the students' socio-economic status ; this relationship did not change from the beginning to the end of the training period. No relationship was reported between the teachers' perception and the students' race, sex or perceptions of peer acceptance.

All of the literature cited would seem to suggest that educators recognize the importance of students' self-perceptions in the context of education. The role that teachers' perceptions play in the development of students' self-concepts is seen to be critical. While the literature is both limited and inconclusive

regarding ways in which teachers' perceptions of students can be enhanced, the proposition that: some treatment X will result in teachers having increased positive perceptions of students is justified.

Generalizations

Based upon this preliminary review of the literature and upon the writer's own experiences, the following generalizations seem justified either by virtue of the content therein or the process involved.

1. A person's (including teachers) behavior toward another person is determined in large measure by his perceptions (how he sees the world, reality for him, including physical view, expectations, awareness of feelings about something or someone, etc.).

2. Similarly, how a child behaves is determined in large measure by his perceptions of himself, of others and of the world.

3. A young child's view of himself is almost totally determined by his perceptions of how others behave toward him. During infancy (birth to about age two) these "others" are people who are closest to the infant; i.e. mother, father, siblings. This circle of "significant others" widens as the child grows older to include friends, and eventually at school, teachers. While this latter group may have some influence on the child's perceptions of self, they probably don't erase the original impressions gained during the period of infancy.[66]

4. Individuals generally acquire the ability to define themselves and their world and to take charge of their lives at an early age (probably by age twelve).[67]

---

[66]Harris, Thomas A., I'm OK - You're OK (New York: Avon Books, 1973)

[67]Van Cleve Morris, Existentialism in Education: What It Means (New York: Harper and Row, 1966).

5. Teachers differ in their perceptions of minority group students. They differ in their sincerity about educating these students; their perceptions of students may be influenced by "studies" which purport to characterize a certain group of students. Their perceptions of students are not entirely fixed.

6. Administrators, in their many roles, can influence and alter in positive ways teachers' perceptions of students.

7. The events which constitute the "American way of life" have the potential for producing an adverse effect on the self-concepts of minority group people.

8. Teachers are in the position to reinforce this adverse effect; they are also in the position to confute it.

9. The potential for success in school is distributed among minority group and poor students in the same way that it is distributed among non-minority group students.

10. Teachers have the capacity for achieving self-definition and self-actualization, and for taking charge of their own lives. A logical extension of this idea is that teachers have the power to alter their own perceptions of students.

11. People generally require some assistance in moving from having their behavior and self-concepts influenced or determined by others to self-determination and self-actualization.

No effort will be made to test these generalizations as they will serve as a foundation from which the study will proceed.

CHAPTER II

RELATED IDEAS

Psychology

Perceptual psychology. The theories of perceptual psychology are based on an internal frame of reference. A perceptual system is one which relates what happens to the human organism (input, stimuli) to how the organism behaves (output, response, behavior), by interposing a set of intervening variables between the two -- those intervening variables being perceptions. Since perceptions are internal, psychologists dealing with perceptions are forced to operate from an internal frame of reference (also called a phenomenological frame of reference.) The perceptual psychologists' point of view is set forth by Snygg and Combs in Individual Behavior. Briefly:

> Perceptual psychology takes the position on that all behavior is a function of the perceptions existing for any individual at the moment of his behaving, especially those perceptions he has of himself and of the world in which he is operating. Each of us does at every moment what seems appropriate at that instant.[1]

The individual self is the focal point for perceptual psychology; its data lies inside individuals and is not directly observable and measurable. Information about the self can, however, be gained in a variety of ways and through a variety of sources. It is information which is available it at least some degree to each person, since each person is a self, and experiences himself. It can be inferred from

---

[1] A. W. Combs and D. Snygg, Individual Behavior: A Perceptual Approach to Behavior (New York: Harper and Bros., 1959)

observable behavior, and additionally it can be gained from the self-reports of other individuals.[2] In any case, understanding the person from his own point of view, in the light of his own experiences is the most real way of knowing him. "Correspondence of perceptual experience is perhaps the best way of understanding what an experience means to another individual;"[3] without this correspondence, though, we can still come to know the meaning that experiences have for another person by attending to his self expression through listening to what he says and through observing the patterns of his behavior. The basic research technique of perceptual psychology is inference. Perceptual psychology takes steps toward objectivity and standardization in the collection of data by delineating those patterns of behavior (observable) which are inferred to be indicators of particular internal conditions. To give a simplistic example: an observer who sees a teacher call a student "stupid" and judge that students work as failing can infer that the teacher perceives that student as stupid and as incapable of learning or succeeding in school. Even so, perceptual psychologists grant that the individual knows his internal condition better than anyone else does. His perceptions of his own feelings, attitudes and ideas are more valid than any outside diagnosis.[4]

People behave in terms of what things seem like to them. People do not behave according to the "facts" as other people see them, but

---

[2] LaBenne and Greene, Ch. 9.

[3] Moustakas, p. 41.

[4] Moustakas, p. 45.

in terms of what seems to them to be so. A "fact" for any person is what he believes to be true. "Our perceptions of ourselves and of the world have such a complete feeling of reality that we seldom stop to doubt them."[5] We accept things the way they seem to us, and we act accordingly. In terms of perceptual psychology, the individual's behavior is a function of all those perceptions existing for him at a given moment; how a person behaves is the result of how he sees himself and how he sees the situation at the time of acting. By definition the word perception means more than seeing or hearing; it refers to the significance of an event for the person experiencing it, and to the meanings he attaches to it at that moment. Ittleson and Kilpatrick define perceptions as:

> ...never a sure thing, never an absolute revelation of 'what is.' Rather, what we see is (perceive) is a prediction -- our own personal construction designed to give the best possible bet for carrying out our purposes in action. We make those bets on the basis of our past experience. [6]

Perceptions tend to be cumulative. An event is not perceived in isolation, but is attached meaning in terms of all of the individual's past experiences and the perceptions attached to them. Throughout his life an individual accumulates a "perceptual field," made up of perceptions constructed in the past, which is brought to bear on any new and future experience.

In the context of perceptual psychology the most important ideas which affect people's behavior are those ideas they have about themselves.

---

[5]Combs, Avila and Purkey, Helping Relationships . . . p. 24.

[6]W. H. Ittleson and F. P. Kilpatrick, "Experiments in Perception," The Scientific American, 185, 2 (August, 1951) p. 55.

That which perceptual psychologists call the self first comes into being as the young child (infant) experiences the world.

> The self, as it finally evolves, is made up of all that goes into a person's experiences of his individual existence. It is a person's inner world. It is a composition of a person's thoughts and feelings, strivings and hopes, fears and fantasies, his view of what he is, what he has been, what he might become, and his attitudes pertaining to his worth.[7]

The self-concept is not a thing, but rather an organization of ideas -- it is all those perceptions to which an individual refers when he says "I" or "me."[8] The constituents of self-concept are the person's total appraisals of his appearance, background and origin, abilities and resources, and attitudes and feelings, which culminate as a directing force in behavior.[9] We may have thousands of perceptions about ourselves. All, however, are not equally important to us; some perceptions about self are quite important (central); others are relatively less important (peripheral). Each person's self-concept is the frame of reference from which he makes all other observations. Experience is perceived in terms of its relevance and relationship to the self-concept, and behavior is determined by those perceptions.

Of most importance in the growth of the self-concept are those concepts acquired from interactions with other human beings. The main forces which shape the self are interactions with <u>significant others</u>.[10] At an early stage -- during childhood -- the most

---

[7]A. Jersild, <u>In Search of Self</u>, (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952).

[8]Combs, Avila and Purkey, p. 39.

[9]LaBenne and Greene, p. 18.

[10]Combs, Avila and Purkey, p. 31.

significant others in a child's life are parents. Later, other significant people become part of his world -- relatives, teachers, ministers, etc.. From interactions with these significant others the child learns that he is liked or unliked, a success or a failure, respectable or of no account, and so on. The individual learns about himself from the mirror of other people.[11] What a child comes to believe about himself is a function of his interpretations of how others see him -- he infers that they perceive him in a certain way not only by what they say to him but also from their behavior toward him. Since perceptions are learned from experience, then in order to help children feel more positively about themselves, it is necessary to provide them with experiences which will help them feel more positively about themselves. How can a person feel liked unless somebody likes him? How can a person feel acceptable unless somewhere he is accepted? How can a person have dignity unless someone treats him so? How can a person feel able unless somewhere he has some success?[12]

Each individual constantly strives to maintain, protect and enhance the self of which he is aware.

---

[11] H. S. Sullivan, Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry, (Washington, D. C.: William A. White Psychiatric Foundation, 1947).

[12] A. Combs, "Some Basic Concepts in Perceptual Psychology," in Avila, Combs and Purkey, The Helping Relationships Sourcebook, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971) p. 121.

> Things are significant or insignificant, attractive or unattractive, valuable or worthless in terms of their relationship to oneself. We evaluate the world and its meaning in terms of how we see ourselves.[13]

New perceptions of the self are evaluated in this way: those perceptions which are consistent with and relevant to the already existing self-concept are accepted and assimilated; if the perception has no relation or relevance, it is ignored; if it is inconsistent and contradictory, it is likely to be either rejected or distorted in order to fit.[14] Purkey describes the following situation:[15] a student who considers himself a failure at school will reject or distort any information to the contrary. He cites studies (Aronson and Mills, 1959[16] and Aronson and Carlsmith, 1962[17]) which show that students who did poorly in class, but who expected to do so, were more satisfied and contented than those who did well but had really not expected to do so. Those who found themselves doing well experienced considerable discomfort if they had not expected to succeed, and they eventually tended to bring their performance into agreement with their low expectations. On the contrary, for the child who sees himself as a successful student it would take a large number of academic failures

---

[13] W. W. Purkey, Self-Concept and School Achievement (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1970) p. 10-11.

[14] Ibid. p. 11.

[15] Ibid.

[16] The Effects of Severity of Initiation on Liking for a Group, Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 59 (1959) pp. 177-181.

[17] Performance Expectancy as a Determinant of Actual Performance, Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 65 (1962) pp. 178-182.

to convince him otherwise.

Perception is a selective process; a person cannot register everything in his surroundings at a given moment. He focuses on fewer stimuli than the total number possible. The choices he makes under these circumstances relate to his past experiences as well as to his present needs and current self-perceptions. As the self-concept develops it brings with it a perspective for viewing the world and the individual's relationship to it. A person with a weak self-concept, who is unsure of himself, as well as a person with a negative self-concept who sees himself as incapable, incompetent and so on, is likely to have a narrowed perceptual field, limiting the data available for intelligent decision making and action. In contrast, the individual, as noted in the Introduction, with a strong, positive self-concept is open to a variety of experiences and perceptions.[18]

Once established, the self-concept provides a screen through which everything else is heard, seen, evaluated and understood.

The selective effect of the self-concept has another consequence. "It corroborates and supports the already existing beliefs about self and so tends to maintain and reinforce its own existence." [19] The self-corroborating characteristic of the self-concept gives it a high degree of stability and makes it difficult to change, once it has become firmly established.

---

[18] LaBenne and Greene, pp. 19-20.

[19] Combs, Avila and Purkey, p. 44.

> Millions of people everywhere in the world are caught in a vicious circle in which their experience seems always to confirm their unhappy and disasterous concepts of self. 'Like mirrors locked face-to-face in an infinite corridor of dispair,' they are trapped in a way of life from which there seems no escape. Having defined themselves in ways that . ... preclude much hope of success, they remain victims of their own self-perceptions. . . . Many Negroes, for example, have been so thoroughly brainwashed by generations of experience into believing that they are unable, uncapable, and second-rate citizens that they often continue to behave so even in conditions where it is no longer appropriate.[20]

In order to produce a change in a person's behavior it is necessary, in one way or another, to effect some change in his perceptual field. The self-concept is learned in the same way that other perceptions are acquired; it is derived from the experiences that an individual has with his world and with the people in it. Because the self is not instinctive, but is developed as a function of experience, it is changeable, and possesses infinite capacity for growth. Perceptual psychologists contend that the most important changes in the self come about only as a consequence of many experiences repeated over long periods of time. Unimportant or peripheral aspects of the self can often be acquired or changed fairly quickly. For example, Combs cites: by taking a person for a ride in an airplane, we can produce a change in his self-concept to "one who has been in a plane."[21] The more important changes occur slowly. Generally, the more important the aspect of self, the more experience will be required to establish it and the more difficult it will be to change. Again, though the fundamental premise

---

[20] Ibid. p. 46.

[21] Ibid. p. 51.

of the perceptual psychologists is that since perceptions (including the self-concept) are built up as a product of experience, it is possible to change perceptions through experience. As a matter of fact, each individual is open to his environment, and experiences it constantly -- particularly the social environment. Each individual is faced with the necessity for continual and rapid examination and reassessment of perceptions. Perceptions which no longer work, or which don't work in a particular situation are called into question. Cantril views change in perceptions in the following way:

> The major condition for change in our perceptions is a frustration experienced in carrying out our purposes effectively -- because (in this case) we are working on the basis of assumptions that prove wrong.[22]

Assumptions need to be continually re-evaluated, and new assumptions must be tried out.

Carl Rogers defines the helping relationship as one in which at least one of the parties involved has the intent of promoting the growth, development and maturity of the other[23]. The concept of the helping relationship rests on the theoretical assumption that people -- perceptions, and self-concepts -- can change. Combs and his associates at the University of Florida define the effective teacher-student relationship as a helping relationship. Combs et al and Rogers agree that this relationship is possible only when the "helper" feels himself basically adequate. "People who feel inadequate

---

[22]Hadley Cantril, "Perceptions and Interpersonal Relationships," Amer. J. of Psychiatry, CXIV (1957) pp. 119-126.

[23]Carl R. Rogers, On Becoming a Person (Boston: Houghton-Miff., 1961).

cannot afford the time and effort required to assist others so long as they feel deprived themselves."[24] They substantiate this position with a body of evidence collected in the Florida Studies in the Helping Professions.[25] In this study a sample of teachers are described categorically as effective or ineffective by principals and supervisors. The researchers found a high degree of similarity in the perceptual organization of "effective" teachers. The following dimensions are among those reported:

1. Teachers feel that they themselves are basically adequate.

2. They see themselves as wanted, likeable, and attractive (as opposed to feeling unwanted, ignored or rejected by others).

3. They see their students as wanted, likeable and attractive.

4. They see themselves as dependable and reliable and able to cope with events.

5. They see their students as dependable, reliable and able to cope with events.

6. They see themselves as identified with rather than apart from others.

7. They see themselves as persons of worth, consequence, dignity and integrity.

8. They see their students as persons or worth, consequence, dignity and integrity.

9. They see themselves as willing to be themselves.

---

[24] Combs, Avila and Purkey, Chapter 1.

[25] Ibid.

10. They see students as able and having the capacity to deal with problems and manage their lives.

11. They see their students as trustworthy and dependable and as friendly and well-intentioned.

Combs et al contend that the teacher's beliefs about himself and others are crucial factors in determining his effectiveness in facilitating the growth of his students. More specifically, the way teachers perceive others is influenced to a large extent by the way they see themselves.

Development of self-perceptions. Figures one through six represent this writer's conceptions of how youngsters develop self-concepts.

Figure 1. The infant and his world. There is little differentiation between the two.

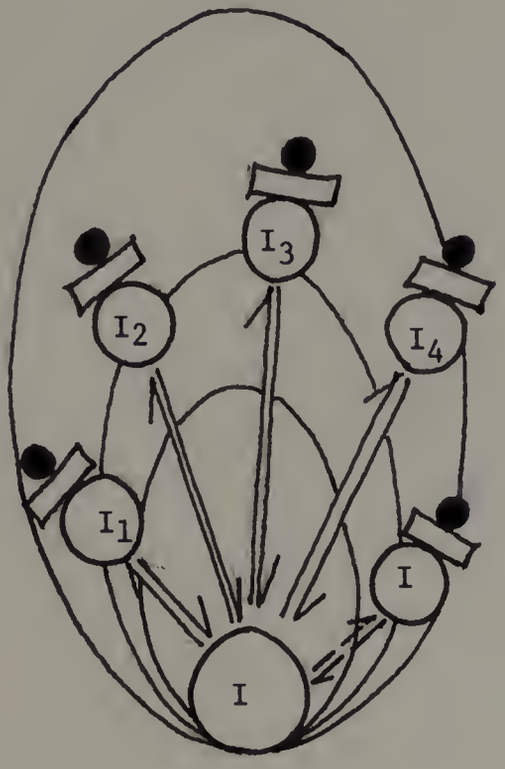
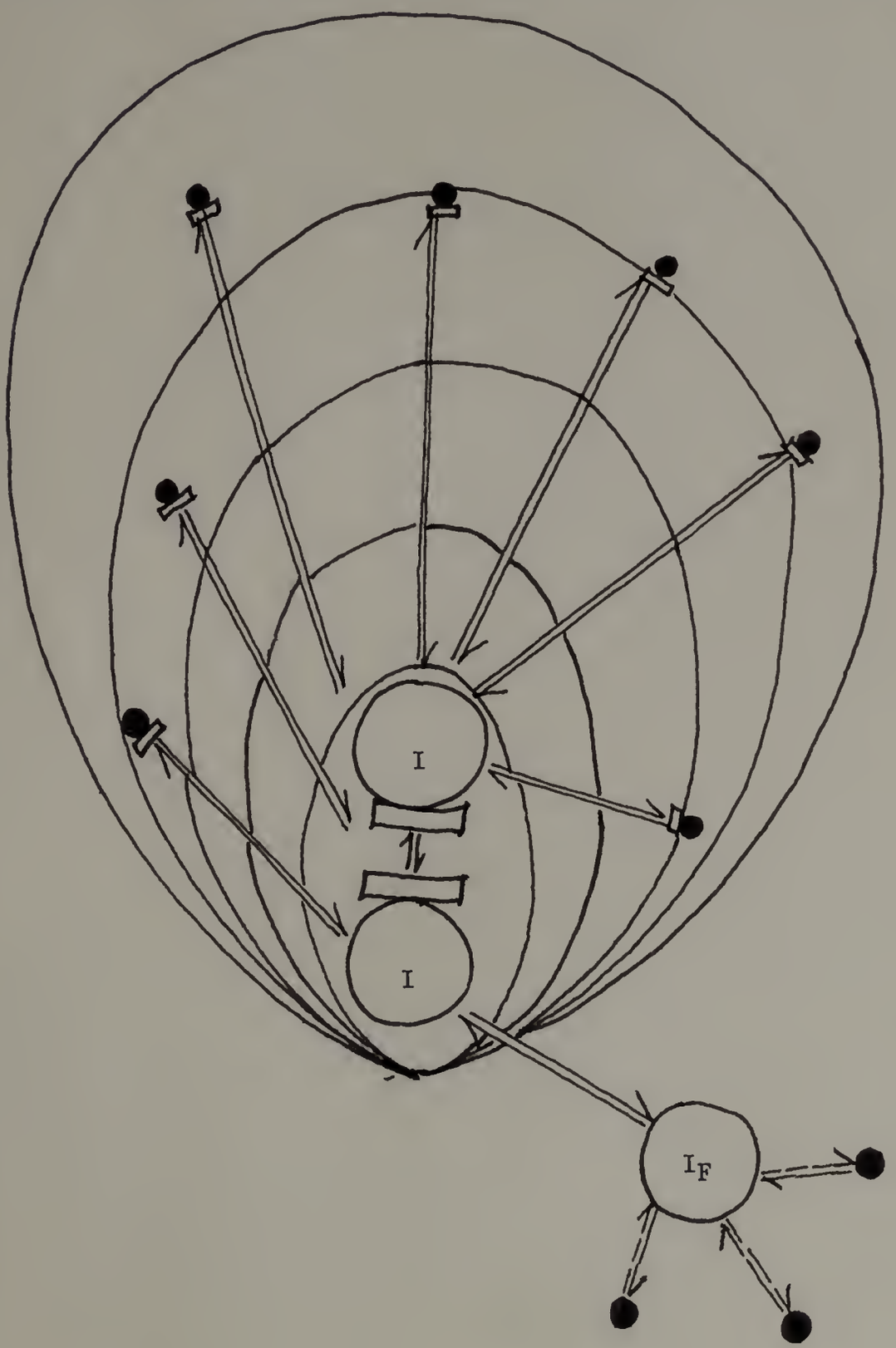


Figure 2. The child's world expands to include other people (●). These people act as mirrors (▭) in which the child (I) sees himself (I_2, I_3 . . .) and perceives what he, as a human being, is like. The child also has glimpses of himself, as defined by himself, though the definitions of others play a dominant role in the development of his self-perceptions.

Figure 3. The individual acquires the ability to define himself. His world expands and the number of people with whom he interacts increases. He can also see beyond the bounds of his present world and can speculate about the future, and plan things that might happen. The individual holds up his own mirror to view himself. The mirrors held up by others now have less effect on the individual's perceptions of himself than do his ideas about himself at present as well as his beliefs about his possible ways of being in the future.



The following illustrations represent another way of conceptualizing this process.

Figure 4. The individual in isolation.

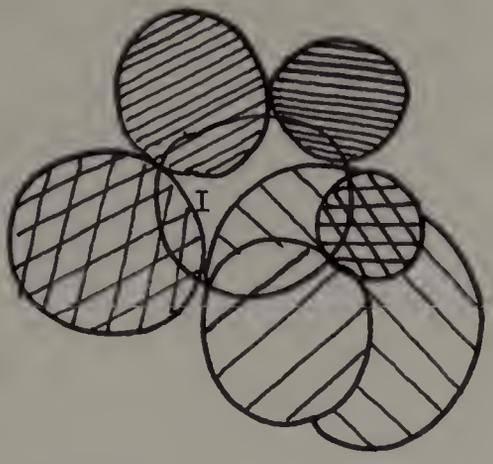


Figure 5. The individual almost totally defined by other people.

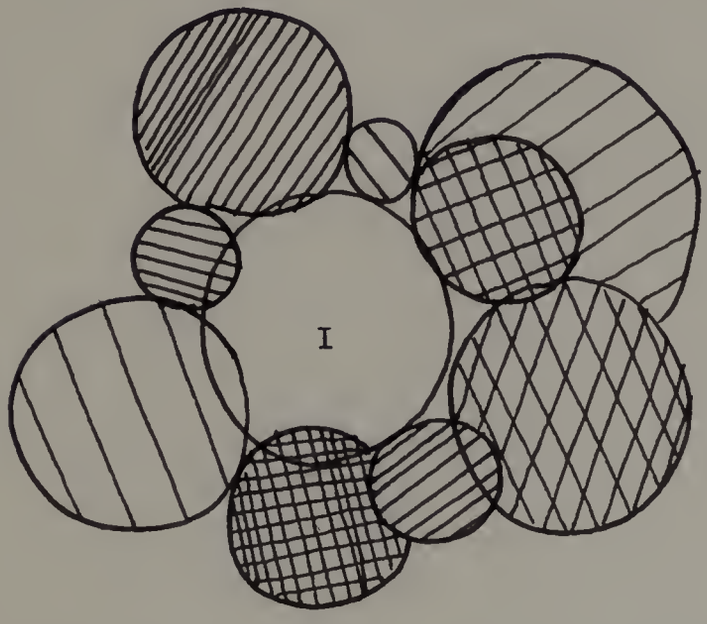


Figure 6. As the individual matures he does not end his interactions with other people; he increases them. Nor does he stop being affected by these interactions. But, they each become peripheral to the self-actualizing self.

Maslow. Psychologists have devoted considerable attention to exploring why people behave as they do. While behavior may almost always be attributed to situational, biological and cultural determinants, Maslow theorizes that behavior is almost always motivated as well. Maslow's theory of motivation concentrates on need satisfaction as the central explanation. "Maslow's theory has laid a foundation which is utilized in many studies of behavioral processess such as perception, the effects of organization on personality and vice versa, and the basic orientations people have toward others." [26]

Maslow depicts human needs as arranged in a hierarchical order. "Human needs arrange themselves in hierarchies of prepotency. The appearance of one need as a motivator usually rests on the prior satisfaction of another, more prepotent need." [27] The only needs which motivate behavior, according to Maslow, are those needs which are not yet satisfied; and of those needs not yet satisfied, for any individual, at any particular point in his life, one need will be the most prepotent need, and will be manifest as a motivator of the individual's behavior at that point. A satisfied need has no value as a motivator; offering the opportunity to satisfy an already

---

[26] A. Maslow, "A Theory of Human Motivation: the Basic Needs," in Hampton, Summer and Weber, Organizational Behavior and the Practice of Management (Glenview, Ill: Scott Foresman, 1968) p.14.

[27] "Cognition of Being in the Peak Experiences," in Hamacheck (ed.) The Self in Growth , Teaching and Learning (New Jersey; Prentice-Hall, 1965) p. 247.

fulfilled need has no impact on behavior.

Maslow identifies physiological needs as the starting point for his discussion of the hierarchy of needs as depicted in the following diagram:

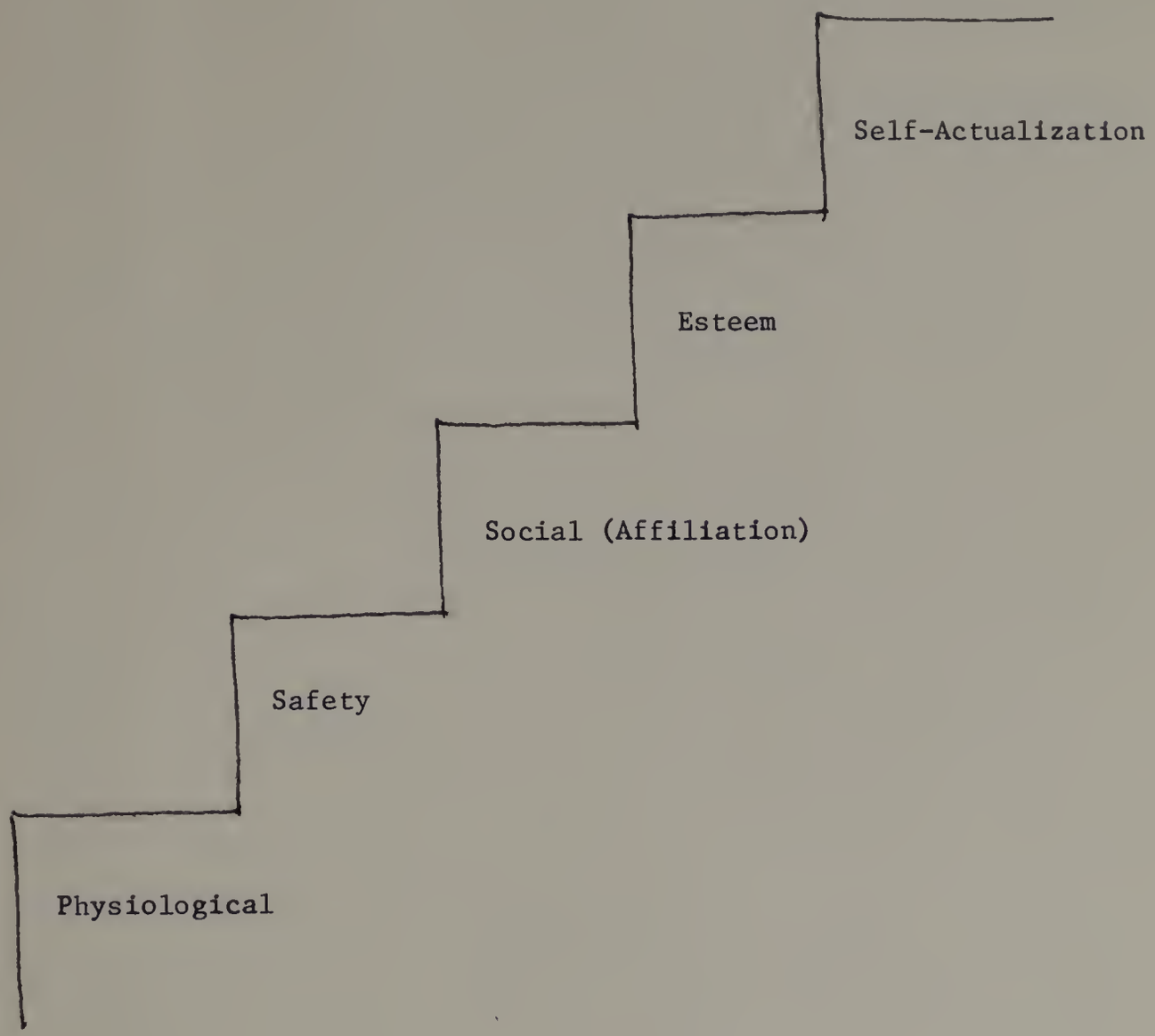


Figure 7. Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs.

According to Maslow, physiological needs are the most prepotent of all needs. This means that a person who is lacking food, safety, love and esteem would probably hunger for food more strongly than for anything else. All of the organism's capacities,

and it's observable behavior would be put into the service of satisfying that hunger. Another peculiar characteristic of the human being is that, when an individual is dominated by a certain need level his way of looking at the world, and at the future, seems to reflect that deprivation. For example, for a hungry person, heaven, Utopia, or happiness would be a condition where there is plenty of food. He would tend to perceive objects and people in the world around him in terms of their values to him as providers of food, or in terms of their associations with food. His goal is always this: getting plenty of food. That individual's life, in the present as well as in his orientation toward the future, tends to be defined in terms of food; anything else is unimportant to him.

Maslow, in the preceding discussion, is referring to chronic and real deprivation or starvation; he is referring to individuals who actually do not get enough to eat (or shelter, rest, exercise, etc.). When an individual does have enought to eat (when the need for food as well as other physiological needs are satisfied) at once, other and "higher" needs emerge as motivators. Maslow adds: a good way <u>not</u> to observe the "higher" motivations in individuals' behavior, and to get a lopsided view of human capacities and natures is to make those individuals extremely and chronically hungry (as an example). "Anyone who . . . will measure all of man's goals and desires by his behavior during extreme deprivation is certainly

being blind to many things." [28]

If physiological needs are fairly well satisfied, then safety needs will emerge as prepotent. Maslow generalizes that the "normal, fortunate adult" in America is largely satisfied in his safety needs. Ordinarily, adult individuals in this country feel safe enough from natural disasters, assault, tyranny and so on. Expressions of safety needs of a slightly different nature can be observed in such adult phenomena as : preference for a job with tenure and protection, desire for financial security, and desire for insurance of all kinds (medical, unemployment, accident, disability, old age, etc.). [29]

Maslow discusses at some length observations of children, and generalizes to say that in America today, safety is a very important motivator for children. The average child in our society prefers a safe, orderly, predicatable and organized world; he desires a world which he can count on, and in which unexpected, unmanagable and other dangerous things do not happen.[30]

What Maslow has said of unfulfilled physiological needs is also true of unfulfilled safety needs. The individual may be dominated by them, though probably to a somewhat lesser degree than by physiological needs.

If both the physiological and the safety needs are fairly well satisfied in an individual, then the "love, affection and belongingness" needs will appear as prepotent needs.

---

[28] A. Maslow, Toward a Psychology of Being (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1962).

[29] Maslow, "A Theory of Human Motivation . . ." p. 31.

[30] Ibid.

These needs involve both giving and receiving love and affection. The individual who is motivated by love needs will strive to establish and maintain affectionate relationships with friends, lovers and children, as well as with people in general; he will be directed toward this end above all else.

Next in Maslow's hierarchy are the esteem needs -- needs for a stable, firmly based, high (usually) evaluation of themselves, and for the esteem and respect of others. "Satisfaction of the esteem needs leads to feelings of self-confidence, worth, strength, capability and adequacy, and of being useful and necessary in the world. But, thwarting of these needs produces feelings of inferiority, of weakness and of helplessness."[31]

Even as all these needs are satisfied, a final need emerges -- the need for self-actualization or for self-fulfillment. According to Maslow, very few individuals are actually self-actualized, or fulfilled in this need (less than one percent of the adult population). Many more people, however, are concerned with self-actualization at some point in their lives. These "self-actualizing" people can be described generally as sufficiently gratified in their physiological, safety, belongingness, love, respect and self-esteem needs so as to be motivated primarily toward self-actualization -- actualization of potentialities, capacities, talents, capabilities and fuller knowledge and acceptance of self. Maslow also presents a descriptive and

---

[31]Maslow, "A Theory of Human Motivation . . ." p. 34.

operational definition of the self-actualizing person, listing clinically observable characteristics.[32] Among these are the following characteristics:

1. a superior perception of reality
2. increased acceptance of self and others
3. increased spontaneity
4. increased autonomy
5. increased identity with humanity in general
6. improved interpersonal relationships
7. increased creativeness

Though by definition, and as a result of its position in the heirarchy, self-actualization tends to be seen as an end to be anticipated only with chronological maturity, actually, self-actualization can be seen as a dynamic process, active throughout life.

The hierarchy is not as rigid as it might seem in a brief discussion. The average individual is most often partially satisfied and partially unsatisfied in all of his wants. The hierarchy principle is usually empirically observed in terms of increasing percentages of non-satisfaction as we go up the hierarchy. Self-actualization, for example, is a matter of degree and frequency rather than an all or none affair. Every individual, at some time in his life, experiences "spurts" of growth in which all his powers and capabilities come together in a particularly powerful and effective way. In persons who are relatively well satisfied at a given point in their physiological, safety, love and esteem needs, these spurts or "peak experiences," as Maslow terms them, happen with greater frequency.

Particularly relevant to this paper is Maslow's characterization of "a superior perception of reality" in self-actualizing people

---

[32] Maslow, Toward a Psychology . . . pp. 23-24.

during their "peak experiences." The self-actualizing person is more able than others to perceive the world "accurately." He is more able to see the world "as it really is," rather than only in its relationship to him -- as something to be afraid of, reacted to or used. Western psychologists, in large measure assume that human needs, fears and interests must always be the determinants of perception; that the world can be seen only from the vantage point of the interests of the perceiver and that experience must be organized around the ego as the centering and organizing point. Maslow, however, contends that perception can be unmotivated, impersonal, desireless and unselfish. A person can perceive something as if it had an independent reality of its own and were not dependent upon the perceiver. Self-actualizing people are able to perceive the world as if it were independent of them -- to see things as they really are. Maslow also rejects the notion of the human being as an essentially reactive being -- whose behavior is always determined by external stimuli. The sources of action, he says, of self-actualizing people are more internal than reactive.

Also relevant are Maslow's discussions of the process of growth and of movement through the hierarchy of needs. Beginning in childhood, Maslow views the individual's life as a series of choices. He schematicizes these choices as choices between safety (defensiveness) and growth. The growth choice demands courage,

and even daring; it is a choice that takes the child a step beyond where he is at the present, into a future which is uncertain, unknown and not entirely predicatable. "We can expect the growth choice to be made by the safety gratified child. Only he can afford to be bold."[33] In this process people around the child (parents, teachers, etc.) are important, even though the ultimate choice must be made by the child. Adults can help the child to gratify his basic needs for safety, belongingness, love and respect so that he can feel unthreatened, autonomous, interested and spontaneous and thus dare to choose the unknown and the uncertain. The absence of safety and love stifles potentialities and even kills them; it produces self-doubt, anxiety feelings of worthlessness and expectations of ridicule -- all inhibitors of growth. To an extent, Maslow describes a "self-fulfilling prophecy." A parent's firm belief that his child is beautiful and capable is not so much a perception of something that already exists as it is a bringing into existence a belief. It is a perception, by the parent, of a potentiality in his child, since every child has the possibility of being beautiful and capable.

Maslow also examines "the pre-conditions for basic need satisfaction." He lists those conditions without which the satisfactions of the basic needs may be impossible, or at least, severely endangered: freedom to speak, freedom to do what one wishes,

---

[33] Maslow, Toward a Psychology . . . pp. 55-56.

freedom to express oneself, freedom to investigate and to seek information, freedom to defend oneself, justice, fairness and honesty.[34]

Behaviorism: B. F. Skinner. B. F. Skinner begins his argument for a "scientific approach" to behavior by asserting that man understands himself least of any other part of his world. Since scientific analysis and technology have enabled man to have an understanding of the physical and biological nature of the world which permits him to exercise some control over events, Skinner suggests that we look in the direction of science and technology when considering human behavior. He cites this example: we can get men to the moon, but cannot teach children effectively in public schools. Skinner recommends bringing to bear the methods of science and technology on human behavior; since we have been so successful in changing, shaping and controlling the physical world, Skinner contends that certainly science can increase our power to change, mold and control human behavior.

For the purpose of this dissertation, this writer has studied Skinner's writings[35] to gain insight into his conceptions of: what an individual human being is, what he can do, and what can be done to him. These are the points which will be discussed in this section of the paper.

It is possible to explore Skinner's ideas of what an individual is and what he can do by putting the questions first in terms of

---

[34] Maslow, "A Theory of Human Motivation . . . p. 34.

[35] References are included in the Bibliography.

what an individual is not, and what he cannot do. His argument is essentially the following.

In attempting to understand and explain behavior, we are still dealing at a pre-scientific level. That is, we invent something that cannot be seen to explain behavior which we can observe but which we do not understand -- such as personified causes (like an Id which is responsible for behavior), impulses or purposes which rule behavior, or essences, natures, traits, capacities, potentialities, characters and so on. When we are unable to understand how or why the person we see behaves as he does, we attribute this behavior to a person, or to a dimension of a person which we cannot see. Explanation stops with this "inner man" -- he initiates, originates and creates, simply because he wills to do so. This notion of autonomy we use to explain only the things which we are not able to explain in other ways. The existence of the "autonomous man" depends upon our ignorance. Skinner proposes that, intellectually and scientifically, there must be some other explanation for behavior.

In rejecting the notion of "automonous man" Skinner also disposes with the notion that "man is free to make choices." Choice is not free. Whoever determines what alternatives shall be known to an individual controls what that individual is able to choose from. Or, whoever makes some alternatives available and possible and others not possible controls the individual's range of possible choices. The individual is deprived of his freedom to the extent that he is denied access to any ideas or is confined to any range of ideas short of all possibilities.

Skinner also rejects the assumption that individuals are free and can therefore be held responsible for their actions. Behavior does have causes which have nothing to do with "free choice," "will" or "autonomy." Skinner cites implications for education. Teachers admire students for knowledge and blame them for ignorance, and in doing so assume that the responsibility for learning or for not learning lies somewhere within the students, thus, escaping some of the responsibility for teaching them. When the student does not learn, the fault lies within him.

In order to understand what men do, what is needed, according to Skinner, is a new conception of human behavior which is compatible with the implications of scientific analysis -- which takes into account and which analyses causes, the antecedents of action. Behavior does have causes which can be identified and manipulated. In this way behavior can be controlled. If we know the antecedents of behavior, then by altering them in some way we may also in some way be able to alter behavior. This presents a problem: we do not seem willing to even consider the idea of controlling human beings. Skinner attributes this aversion to the idea of controlling behavior to several fears which he attributes to human beings.

We hesitate to admit that we can control and that we can be controlled. Historically, control has usually been used for the selfish purposes of the controller and, therefore, has had punishing effects on others (those controlled). There is also a fear of the loss of "human dignity" or worth. Any evidence that a person's behavior may be attributed to external circumstances seems to

threaten his dignity or worth. The most valued behavior is that which cannot be simply explained by observable causes or circumstances. Similarly, humans exhibit a fear of controlling -- a reluctance to bear any responsibility for what any person does. The controller can escape this uncomfortable responsibility by maintaining the position that no matter what he may do or try to do to influence a person, that person himself is always in control and does only what he decides he wants to do. The teacher who gives the student credit for learning can also blame him for not learning. The teacher, therefore, cannot be held responsible if the student does not learn, and can blame the student's failure on genetic make-up, intellectual deficiency, etc., -- or other things over which the teacher has clearly no control. The genetic sources of behavior are particularly useful in exoneration. If some races are less intelligent than others, the teacher cannot possible be blamed if some children learn better than others.

We are likely to admire behavior more as we understand it less. Skinner accuses those who object most violently to the manipulation of behavior of making the most vigorous attempts to manipulate minds, and, therefore, behavior. In some way, changing a mind, attitude, perception, or understanding is less objectionable than changing behavior. But all the same, the methods of education, moral discourse and persuasion do not completely honor the freedom of the individual or his right to dissent, but somehow seem acceptable because they make only partial, or indirect contributions to the control of his behavior.

These non-scientific preconceptions affect current thinking about human behavior and stand in the way of our own good and betterment.

Skinner proposes to look at behavior scientifically -- to use a process of scientific analysis to explain how the behavior of a person as a physical system is related to the conditions under which the human species evolved (genetic factors) and the conditions under which a particular human organism lives. The individual human being is, like any organism, a product of a unique history -- that history including genetic endowment and everything beyond that which happened to the organism. To change an individual and his behavior genetically is quite a difficult proposition. However, changing "those things that happen to" the individual is not always difficult.

We must learn how the environment works before we can change it to change behavior. How does the environment affect the way an individual organism behaves?

Skinner does not regard all behavior as responses to stimuli. For him this model is too simplistic, and leaves unresolved the question of how a stimulus is translated into action. What happens in the translation process which causes an individual to react to the same stimulus in different ways at different times, or which causes different individuals to respond in different ways to the same stimulus? Skinner rejects the stimulus-response model because it relies on the existence of a translator or translation process -- therefore, ultimately relying on the notion of an inner man who does

something that cannot be explained otherwise.

Skinner contends that in order to understand the relationship between the environment and behavior, behaviorists must take into account what the environment does to an organism not only before, but also after the organism responds. A response may be elicited by a stimulus, but behavior is shaped and maintained by its consequences. Some consequences make the behavior preceded it more likely to occur again (these consequences Skinner calls reinforcers). In the instance of positive reinforcement, an individual may find that a particular action is followed by a consequence that is especially pleasurable or rewarding to him. That individual is likely to repeat that action in order to experience the pleasurable consequence again. The particular case of negative reinforcement is relevant here. Some stimuli are themselves called negative reinforcers -- these are generally considered aversive stimuli, i.e., an individual being stung by a mosquito -- the mosquito sting is the aversive stimulus. Behavior which might follow that stimulus (like brushing the mosquito away) is likely to reduce the intensity of the aversive stimulus. That behavior which did lessen or stop the stinging would be likely to be repeated should the stimulus occur. Were the behavior not repeated, the stinging -- the aversive stimulus -- would continue. The stinging being the negative reinforcer which reinforces the brushing away behavior. Consequently, the behavior -- brushing away the insect -- is reinforced by the reduction of the aversive stimulus. The reduction of the sting is contingent upon the brushing away

behavior antecedent to it. Furthermore, the individual may simply avoid the threat of being stung by, where possible, brushing away mosquitoes before they begin to sting him. In that case, operant conditioning has occurred.

The idea of negative reinforcement is stressed here because of its relationship to the notion of freedom. Skinner contends that man embraces the idea of freedom not because of some inner "will to freedom" in his nature, but because he behaves as he does -- "seeking freedom" -- in order to avoid, escape or free himself from some aversive feature of his environment -- from something that makes him uncomfortable. That is, men in servitude act to free themselves as unpleasant things happen to them while they are in the condition of servitude. To this writer, the question may be a moot one -- is freedom a matter of achieving a pleasant condition, or of getting away from a negative condition. Either case has implications for educators in the behaviorist mode.

The world in which man lives may be regarded as a set of positive and negative reinforcing contingencies -- extraordinarily complex, but by no means inscrutable. It is possible in any situation, through systematic and careful analysis to discover who is reinforcing whom, with what and to what effect. Consequently, behavior can be understood and modified by analyzing and by changing the kinds of contingencies to which men are exposed. It should be possible to produce behavior according to plan simply by arranging the proper conditions -- combinations of stimuli and reinforcers. Always the emphasis is on the environment. It is the environment which is "responsible" for

an individual's behavior; it is the environment, and not some attribute of the individual which must be changed. This applies to what are considered to be changes in perceptions, attitudes and opinions; what can be changed is behavior toward something, not attitudes toward it. And, that behavior can be changed by altering the contingencies surrounding it. For example, if you were trying to get a person to perceive Blacks more positively, what you would really wants to change is that person's behavior toward Blacks -- to make those behaviors more positive. The following are some possibilities open using the Behaviorist model proposed by Skinner: You might reward (with something that is rewarding to the person whose behavior you want to change) any positive behavior shown by that person toward Blacks (positive reinforcement). You might punish any negative behavior toward Blacks (by imposing a consequence to those negative actions which is unpleasant to the person whose behavior you want to change). Or, you might set up a situation, putting that person in an uncomfortable or unpleasant position wherein positive actions toward Black might lessen or ease the person's discomfiture (negative reinforcement).

Positive reinforcement, according to Skinner, is the most unselfish technique of control and is also the most effective.

As we learn more about the effects of the environment, we have less reason to attribute any part of human behavior to an autonomous controlling agent. Autonomous man is not easily changed,

in fact, to the extent that he is autonomous he is, by definition, not changeable at all. But, the environment can be changed. And, the fact that man is controlled by his environment is not really so frightening, because, after all, it is an environment almost entirely of his own making.

Transactional Analysis.

> The problems of the world -- and they are chronicled daily in headlines of violence and despair -- essentially are the problems of individuals. If individuals can change, the course of the world can change. This is a hope worth sustaining.
>
> Thomas A. Harris
> June, 1968
> Preface to I'm OK - You're OK

Transactional Analysis, developed by Dr. Eric Berne in the late 1950's, has been used in state hospitals, prisons, and youth institutions, in marital and adolescent counseling, and in institutions for the mentally retarded as a method of group therapy aimed at giving individuals tools that they themselves can use to change, to establish self-direction and to discover the reality of the freedom to choose. "...it confronts the patient with the fact that he is responsible for the future, no matter what has happened in the past."[36] Transactional Analysis, particularly as explicated by Berne and Harris has also gained public popularity; it is a tool that anyone

---

[36] Thomas A. Harris, I'm OK - You're OK (New York: Avon Books, 1973) p. 14.

can use -- people do not have to be "sick" to benefit from it. Transactional analysis uses a language that allows communication -- among professionals and non-professions alike -- about the complex interactions among individuals.

In the language of transactional analysis, the basic unit of social interchange is called a transaction.

> If two or more people encounter each other . . . sooner or later one of them will speak, or give some indication tha acknowledging the presence of others. This is called the transactional stimulus. Another person will then say or do something that is in some way related to the stimulus. and that is called the transactional response. [37]

Transactional Analysis provides a means of examining this interchange. The system of Transactional Analysis is based on the following premises:[38]

1. The human brain records past events in detail.

2. The feelings associated with these experiences are also recorded. One cannot be evoked from the memory without the other.

3. These recorded experiences and feelings are available for recall, and determine much of the nature of future transactions. This recall is largely involuntary. Experiences and feelings can be relived as well as consciously remembered. Much of what is relived (spontaneous involuntary feeling) cannot be remembered.

4. The human being has a multiple nature. People show observable changes in their expressions, vocabularies, postures, etc., which are often accompanied by changes in feeling.

---

[37]Eric Berne, Games People Play (N.Y.: Ballantine, 1964) p.29.

[38]Harris, Chapter 1.

Transactional analysis characterizes three states -- systems of feelings and sets of behavior patterns -- which are available to each individual. Individuals can shift from any one of these three states to any other, regardless of their age or maturity. These states -- Parent, Adult, and Child -- are not roles which are assumed, but are psychological or phenomenological realities. "The state is produced by the playback of recorded data of events in the past, involving real people, real times, real places, real decisions, and real feelings."[39] The three states can be described briefly as follows:

The Parent is a collection of recordings of unquestioned or imposed events, perceived by a person during the first five years of his life.[40 & 41] The most significant of the events during these years are those provided by or involving the child's parents. This is data recorded literally -- as it happened -- since the young child is not able to interpret or modify experience. In the Parent are recorded all admonitions and rules that the child learned from his parents -- including the many nos and don'ts directed at young children. The Parent included gestures, vocabulary and feelings exhibited by the child's parents. There are other sources of Parent data -- television, nursery school teachers, relatives, etc.. The Parent state is manifest thereafter in the following kinds of statements and actions: "Don't do that!" "One always does it this

---

[39]Harris, p. 40.

[40]A description of the parent, Harris, pp. 40-46.

[41]A summary description of all three states, Berne, pp.24-28.

way." "Those people are bad." "Be careful!" "You should be quiet." "Don't be late.", and so on.

The Child. While external events are being recorded as that body of data making up the Parent, a recording of internal events is being made simultaneously -- the responses of the child to what he sees and hears.[42] This data collection is defined as the Child. Since vocabulary is limited during the early years, most of this data is in the form of feelings. The "feelings" of childhood characteristically include these: dependency, ineptness, helplessness, frustration. This is true even of children of kind, loving parents; the negative feelings are a product of childhood. In the Child there is also a store of positive data: creativity, curiousity, the desire to know, to explore and to experience, the delight of discovery. However, observations of small children, and of people in later life indicate that the negative feelings in the Child outweigh the good. Thereafter, when a person is dominated by feelings, when feelings and emotions, rather than rationality determine his actions, the transactional analysts say that his Child has temporarily taken over.

The Adult. At about ten months of age, a child begins to experience the powers of locomotion and manipulation; he finds that he is able to do something on his own. He finds that he is able to do something that grows from his own abilities, awareness

---

[42] Harris, pp. 47-50.

and thought, rather than from the direction of parents. He experiences the beginnings of self-actualization and the beginnings of the process of collecting that body of data which is called the Adult.[43] The Adult data is based on information gathering and processing. The Adult state enable decisions to be made which consider this information. One of the important functions of the Adult is to examine and test the Child and Parent data and to decide whether it is applicable and appropriate at the present moment. The Adult can choose either to ignore or to disregard that data, though the can never erase it.

Simple transactional analysis involves a diagnosis of, in any given transaction, which state implemented the transactional stimulus and which one executed the transactional response. The simplest transactions are those in which both stimulus and response arise from the Adults of the individuals involved. This transaction, as well as Child-Parent, Parent-Parent, and Child-Child transactions are called complementary transactions.[44] The response is appropriate, expected and natural. Conversation can proceed smoothly and indefinitely if the transaction continues to be complementary.

---

[43] Harris, pp. 50-59

[44] Berne, p. 30.

The following diagrams depict complementary transactions:

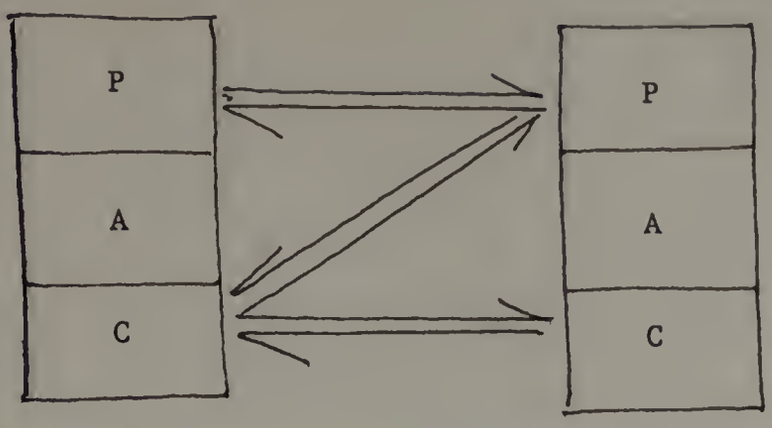


Figure 8. -- Complementary Transactions.

Communication is broken off when a crossed transaction occurs. For example: a stimulus is generated from an Adult and directed toward an Adult, but a Child responds, with a response directed toward a Parent. Some crossed transactions;

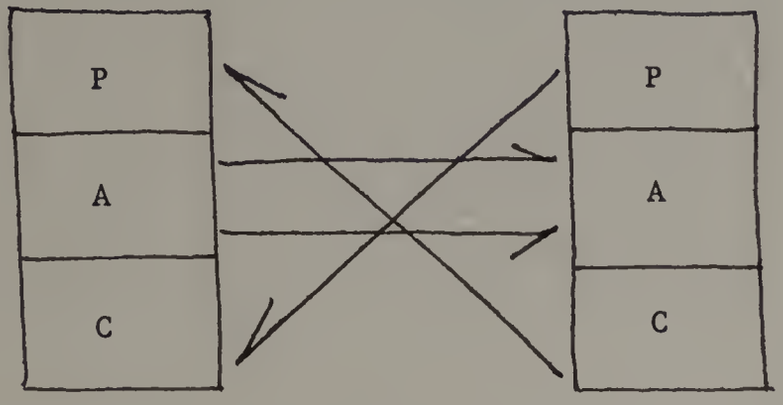


Figure 9. -- Crossed Transactions.

Berne gives the following example of a crossed transaction:[45] An adult stimulus: "Do you know where my_____is?" An appropriate adult response would be: "No, I don't know." or "It's on the

---

[45] Berne, p. 31

bookshelf." However, a response such as: "You always blame me for things!" is a Child response directed toward a Parent, and response directed toward a Parent, and results in a crossed transaction.

Harris further describes four Life Positions:[46]

I'm Not OK -- You're OK

I'm Not OK -- You're Not OK

I'm OK -- You're Not OK

I'm OK -- You're OK

I'm Not OK -- You're OK is a conclusion that each child makes; he concludes that he's not OK, but that his parents are. The child, by virtue of his small size and helplessness considers himself inferior to adults. He feels at the mercy of those adults and feels a need for recognition, approval and comfort from them. Children may "live out" this position in different ways. A child may simply withdraw, since it is too painful to be Not OK around OK people. Another child may act so as to provide verification that "I'm not OK." He will act badly, irresponsibly and childishly so that the integrity of the position is maintained. Most commonly, a child becomes eager and willing to comply with the wishes of the parent in order to please him. I'm not OK -- You're OK is the most common position assumed by mature (chronologically) individuals, by successful and unsuccessful alike. These individuals act out the position in the ways described above, and relate to the Parents or

---

[46] Harris, pp. 65-77.

Child in other individuals. I'm not OK -- You're OK individuals have difficulty communicating Adult to Adult.

If all children arrive at the first position, what then happens to the You're OK to produce the You're Not OK of the second position? By the end of his first year, the child begins to walk; he no longer needs to be picked up and carried around, and he begins to see that his days of "being babied" are over. He gets punished when he does something his parents don't like. Life seems suddenly to have few comforts and little security. The child concludes that I'm not OK and neither are you. The You're not OK applies to all other people. A person who remains in this position gives up; he "...ultimately may end up in a mental institution in a state of extreme withdrawal." [47] Once a position is accepted, all experience is selectively interpreted to support it.

A child who is brutalized long enough by "parents" will switch positions to the third (criminal) position: I'm OK -- You're Not OK. This position is generally decided in the second or third year of life. How does the child arrive at the I'm OK position from the original I'm not OK position? The child finds that he is alright if people will just leave him alone. This is particularly evident in the case of grossly physically abused children. These children can survive only by escaping brutality and by learning to be tough. Harris quotes Caryl Chessman: "There is nothing that sustains you like hate; it is better to be anything than afraid." [48]

---

[47] Harris, p.70.
[48] Harris, p.73.

For these children, the I'm OK-You're not OK position is a life-saving decision. People who maintain this position defer all responsibility for what happens to them to others - it is always "someone else's fault." They shut out any incoming data that would suggest that anyone else is OK.

The fourth position, I'm OK-You're OK, is a conscious decision; it differs from the other three positions in that they are unconsciously assumed early in life. By the third year of life, one of the first three positions is fixed in everyone. Acceptance of the fourth position is based on thought and analysis as well as on faith. The individual who choses this position can transcend his own experiences to consider what life might be like in the future. Some children are helped early in life to find that they are OK by repeated exposure to situations where they can prove to themselves their own worth. In the fourth position the not OK feelings of childhood are not erased; they are just rejected in the light of Adult data.

The goal of Transactional Analysis is to enable a person to have freedom of choice - the freedom to change at will. This freedom grows from awareness, and from the recognition that in each decision there are three sets of data to be processed. The first is the data in the Parent; the second the data in the Child, and the third the data collected by the Adult. Parent and Child data are old and dated. Adult data represents reality as it exists in the

present. A person may respond to the transactional stimulus from either of these three states. The Adult, however, is the only place where change is possible, The Adult can estimate consequences. Only the Adult can deal effectively with the world as it is. Relating transactional analysis to education, Harris states that it seems urgent that parents and teachers help children to develop an Adult that can deal with the world and can accept responsibility for what happens. "School, unless it has truly competent teachers, is the place where scholastically the 'rich get richer and the poor get poorer.'" [49] Schools generally provide ample experience to justify the Not OK position. Throughout life the feelings of and the related techniques for coping with the Not OK position, which the child established in the familiar settings of home and school persist. These feelings and patterns of behavior can deny individuals the achievements and satisfactions based on a true sense of freedom to direct his own destiny.

With respect to dealing with adult (chronologically speaking) individuals transactional analysis offers propositions particularly relevant to the concerns expressed in this paper. Most individuals claim certain beliefs, but most often these beliefs are the product of the Child's acceptance of the Parent's indoctrination, rather than the product of conclusions reached by the Adult after examination of a purposefully attained body of data. These beliefs interfere with the Adult, impairing his ability to perceive reality in the present, to process information and to make conscious decisions. Take the example of prejudice. Prejudice can be defined in the context

---

[49] Harris, p. 188.

of interaction analysis as dated, unexamined Parent data which is accepted and acted upon as if it were true. This belief is externalized without the benefit of Adult (reality) data. One cannot hope to free an Adult from prejudice by delivering to him an Adult discourse on the reality of the subject of the prejudice. Prejudice can only be eliminated when the individual holding the belief recognizes that it is no longer dangerous to disagree with one's Parent, and feels open enough to update the Parent with data from today's reality, as perceived by the Adult.

Figures ten through twelve represent this writer's conception of the development of self-perceptions in the terms of transactional analysis.

Figure 10. The individual as an infant.

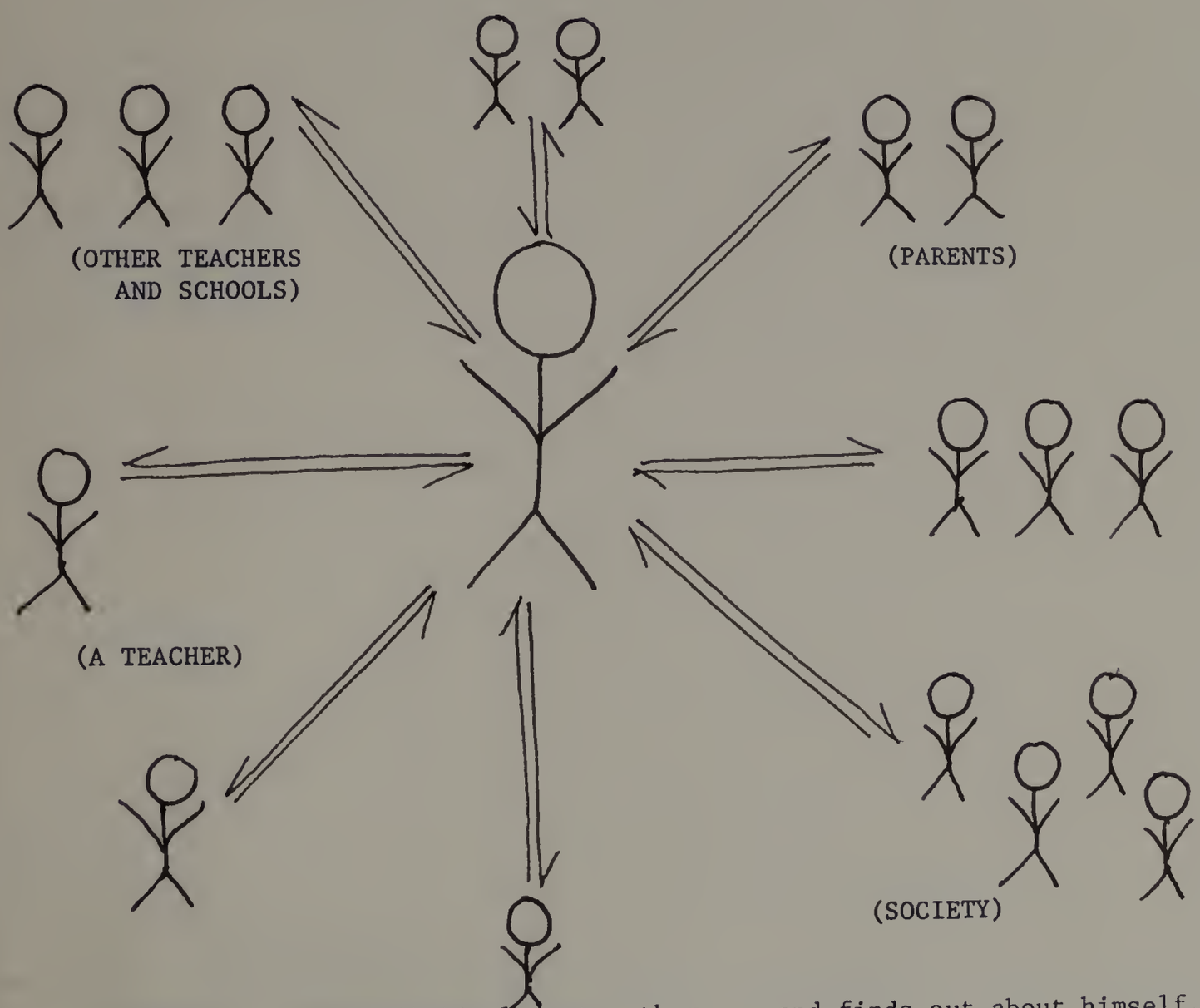
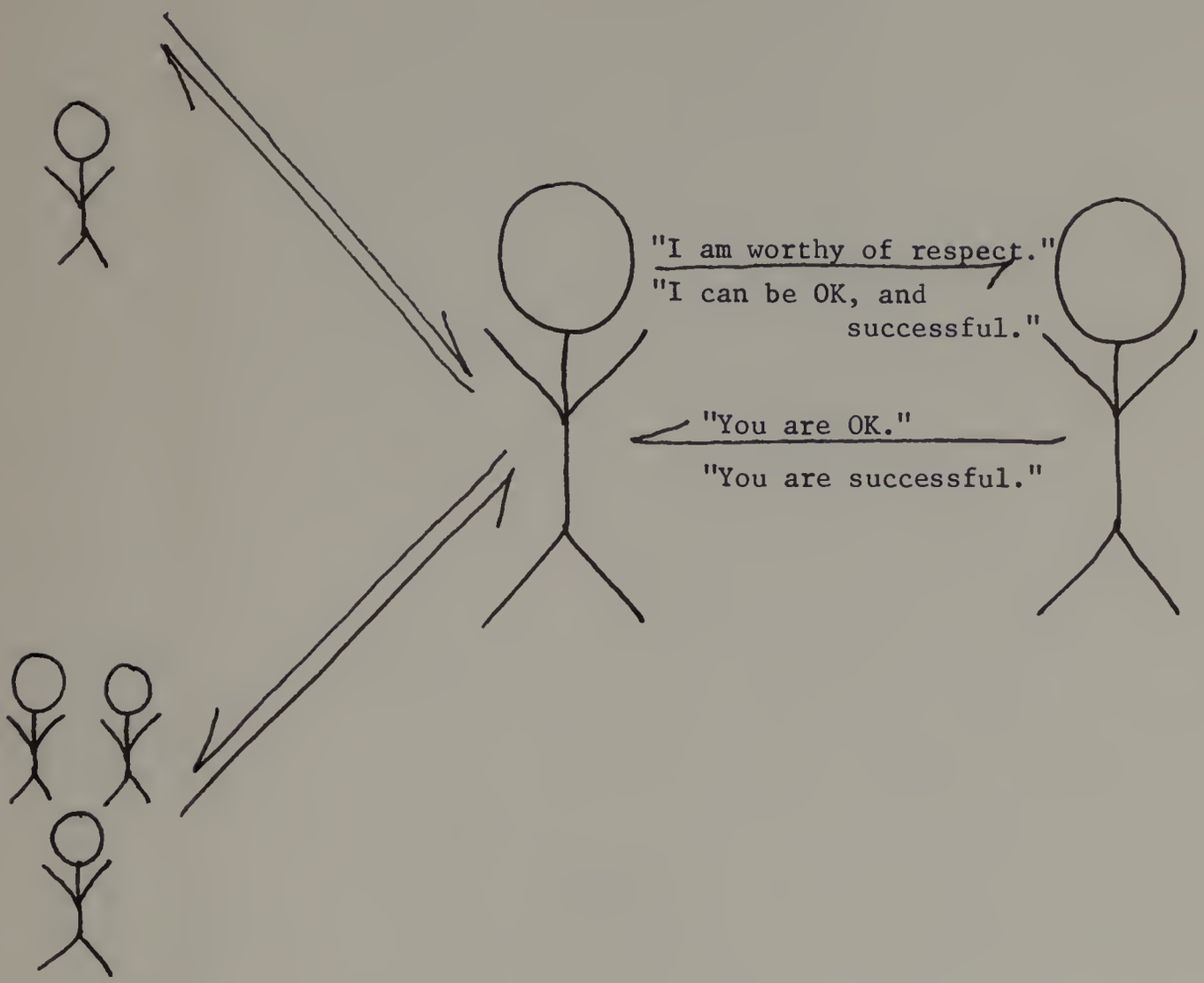


Figure 11. The individual meets others -- and finds out about himself.

Figure 12. The individual makes a conscious choice -- he wills himself to be OK. "If other people can be OK, then I can too." He is able to look beyond his world of experience to imagine himself as he could become. He is able to visualize a potential self, and to consciously decide to work to bring that self into actuality.



Were there more positive information given to the individual from others at the point at which their perceptions make such a big difference to him, then the individual's move to consciously chosing the "I'm OK - You're OK" position (if he is able to move at all) would be greatly facilitated.

Philosophy of Existence

Existentialism can better be described as a movement and a way of philosophizing than as a particular set of doctrines or as a single school of thought with a particular protagonist. Existentialism can be viewed as a mood, manifest not only in philosophical treatises but also in the more popular realm of literature, including a large number of writings and writers, embracing a wide territory, and encompassing many disparate theories. This mood was expressed by the pre-socratic philosopher Heracleitus: "The fairest universe is but a dust heap piled up at random. I search into myself." It recurred in literature since that time, finally to be seized and expounded as a philosophy of existence by Soren Kierkegaard, who was followed by other "philosophers of existence," among them Camus, Kafka, Unamuno, Jaspers, Heidegger, Sartre and Rollo May. Ralph Ellison described an existential mood in his Invisible Man as he wrote:

> "Without light I am not only invisible, but formless as well; and to be unaware of one's form is to live a death. I myself, after existing twenty years, did not become alive until I discovered my invisibility." [50]

The philosophies of existence are primarily philosophies of liberation. They liberate man from the domination of forces external to him -- technology, social pressures, nationalism -- and express a feeling of anguish -- of each man being essentially alone in a

---

[50] Ralph Ellison, The Invisible Man (N.Y.: New American Library, 1947) Introduction.

world which appears to have no meaning for him -- openly, directly and forcefully. What is important to existential philosophies is that which is lived, directly experienced, suffered, and that from which there is no escape.

For the purpose of this paper, some common concerns are discernible from the mass of existentialist literature which provide a point of view for looking at individual human beings. It is the intent of the writer in this section not to attempt to present an exposition of existentialism, but to present and discuss ideas relevant to this point of view. The following themes will be considered in some detail: (1) identity and the experience of identity. The individual human being is primary to and the starting point of existence philosophies, which deal with the individuals knowledge of and concern for himself, his relationship to other individuals and to the world in which he finds himself. (2) concern with the ideal, with the authentic, with human potentialities, with what man can become. (3) dynamic personal involvement, action, choice and commitment.

Existence cannot be known objectively, it can only be grasped internally and subjectively by one who exists. This knowledge, however, is as indubitable as any scientific data. Similarly, the individual person cannot be defined or known objectively but is disclosed through immediate access to each individual. Of all the propositions that I -- an individual -- can say, the assertion that "I am" is definitely the one of which I can be most certain. It is necessarily a hypothesis, since I can conceive of no way to verify it, but as

a hypothesis, it arouses no doubt or skepticism. The knowledge that I exist comes before any other knowledge that I may have, and before any other fact or understanding that I may have of the world.

Each individual experiences himself directly, and recognizes himself as a unique entity -- there is none other in the world like him. He is different from all else in the world, "a singular phenomenon never to be repeated." To be one of a kind is a phenomenon worthy of attention.

Every individual is assumed to be in possession of what essentially belongs to being human. The task of the subjective thinker -- the individual aware of himself -- is to transform himself into an instrument that clearly and definitely expresses in existence what is human.

The individual not only knows himself, but he finds himself in the world. The realm of being oneself is bound to a consciousness of itself as a self in the world. It is through reactions to the situations that the individual finds himself in that potential existence becomes actual. "We are ourselves when we enter these situations with our eyes open." 51

Basically, the individual finds himself alone. He asks the question: What if I were to disappear? I would be completely erased, but the world would go on; my presence makes no difference one way or another.

No matter what limits are imposed by the situations the individual finds himself in, he is always able to choose one particular course

---

51 Karl Jaspers, Man in the Modern Age trans. by E. and C. Paul (London: Kegan Paul and Henry Holt, rev. ed. 1952).

of action (or inaction) over another. The situations do not lead automatically to something inevitable, but rather indicate certain possibilities, either by restricting the individual, or by opening new vistas to him.

When the individual becomes aware of his situation -- of the people and things around him, and of the forces which act on him -- he may either despair of being able to do anything himself which makes any difference, or he may "awake" to the realization that he can choose and that he can act. No matter what limits are imposed by the situation, he is <u>always</u> free to choose.[52] When the individual recognizes and is aware of his situation, and when he is aware of himself as an entity which is unique, and separate from that situation and from the rest of the world, then he is free to choose -- to make of himself what he will. he is not just what he is, once and for all, but he is a process, he can make and remake himself. He is not merely a living being, but is, within that life, endowed with possibilities through the freedom he possesses to make of himself what he will by the activities on which he decides. The human subject is not a completed reality, but one involved in a constant process of becoming and striving. Always he can undo what he has done to become something different.

---

[52] Existence philosophers speak of "universal" human conditions: the existence of other people, consciousness of history, of what has come before him, his existence on this planet and, ultimately, death. Death is the ultimate limiting situation, from which there is no possible escape. Individuals must live in the face of that knowledge.

Man is free to make of himself what he will through choice. Because the individual has this freedom, he alone is responsible for what he is. Existentialism's first and primary move is to make man aware of what he is and to make the full responsibility of his existence rest on him. The individual alone has complete responsibility for what he does, what he feels, how he lives, who he is.

What do men make of themselves and their lives? They may live authentically or inauthentically. Existential philosophers differ to some degree in their interpretations of authenticity and inauthenticity, but it is possible to generalize to the following extent. Those who live an inauthentic existence (the word inauthentic itself implies a deficiency) are characterized by loss of individuality, identity and self-consciousness or self-awareness; by abandonment to the anonymity of "one does" or "one says," and by unthinking, routine and mechanical activities and responses. The inauthentic individual can be described as "conditioned," "adjusted" and"conforming." A break from thoughtless conformity and automatic responses is necessary for the authentic person. Authentic existence is more difficult to characterize. Heidegger defines authenticity as "being in the face of death;" Sartre, as the "creation of meaning out of absurdity;" and Jaspers as a "determination to participate in transcendency." Authentic existence is always personal; only the individual himself can be aware of the authenticity or inauthenticity of his own life. The authentic individual recognizes that he has aroused for thoughtlessness, and sees himself as he really is and as having infinite potentiality for becoming something else.

He knows himself as a being who will die. He realizes that he has chosen, and must go on chosing by himself; he feels the responsibility for what he chooses and becomes. He consciously takes control of his own life.

The awareness which enables the individual to live authentically, to take control of his own life, comes in the light of feelings of alienation and of personal impotence. It shocks him awake from habits and routines and arouses him to what he might be. He awakens from thoughtlessness to recognize the possibilities of individual freedom and as well as his ability to make choices. He recognizes that he is entirely free to make choices.

Existentialism denies that the authentic individual is influenced by motives, or causes or impulses over which he has no control, and which determine his choices, because their nature and their weight depend each moment on the meaning which the individual gives them. He is always free to determine the meaning of these forces for himself. The ground of all reflection, thought and feeling is the authentic individual is subjective. It is from this subjective base that affective and cognitive activity proceeds. Such being the case, all pronouncements about the meaning of life and the nature of human beings originate in and relate to the meanings the individual makes in his own life.

The authentic individual is aware of his responsibility. He is conscious of being the incontestible author of his life. He finds himself alone and without help in creating his life. Not for an

instant can he tear himself away from this responsibility. (The evasion of freedom and the abdication of responsibility -- depending on other or on society to make choices -- are themselves free acts).[53] He sees himself as totally free, and as not being able to derive meaning of the world except as coming from himself.

The existentialists put man himself in question. Man wonders about himself, not only about what he is, but about what he can be. The mood of existentialism is an active involvement, a personal and urgent commitment.

---

[53] Such choices lead to inauthentic existence. Sartre characterizes the inauthentic individual as trying to hide his freedom from himself.

Administration

Life Cycle Theory. Life Cycle Theory is a conceptualization of the relationship between an effective style of leadership and the level of maturity of the leader's followers. Effective leadership is defined as leadership which enables the accomplishment of organizational goals on a long-term basis. As the level of maturity of the leader's followers increases, appropriate leader behavior not only requires less and less structure while increasing socioemotional support, but should eventually entail decreases in socioemotional support. [54]

The cycle can be illustrated:

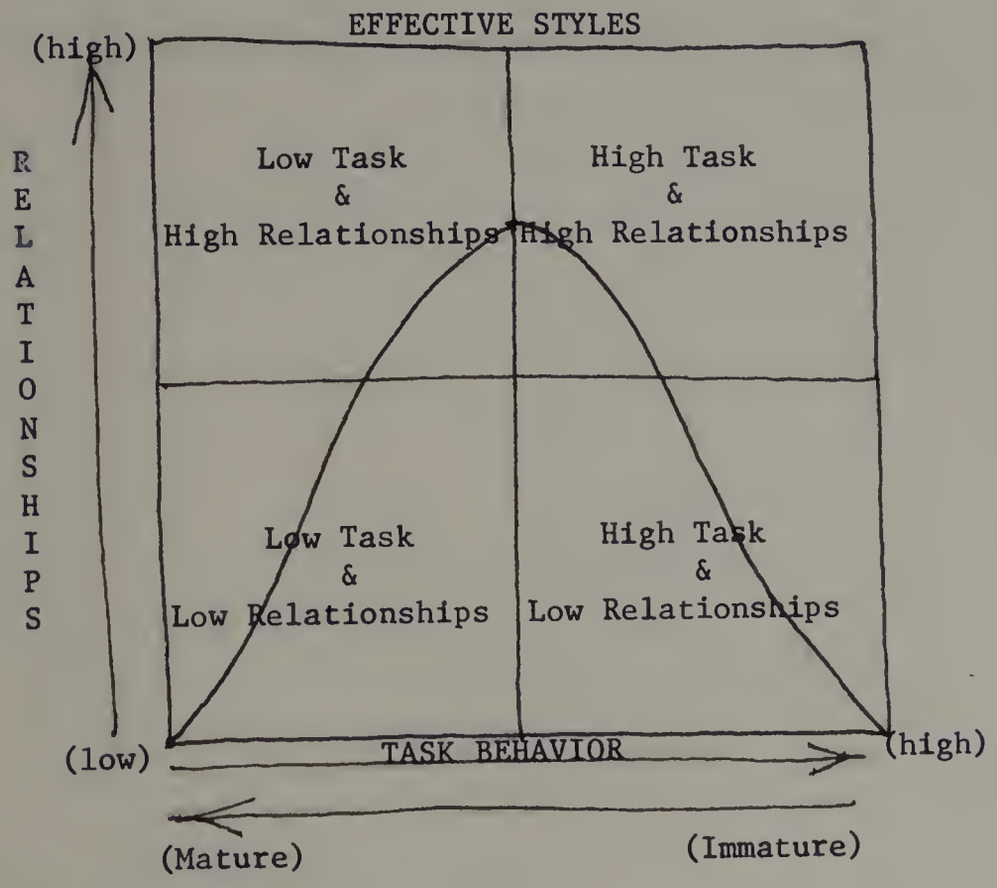


Figure 13. -- Life Cycle Theory

---

[54] Paul Hersey and Kenneth Blanchard, Management of Organizational Behavior: Utilizing Human Resources (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1972). p.134.

The dimensions of the model are defined as follows. Follower behavior is characterized on a continuum ranging from immature to mature.

Mature behavior on the part of individuals is described as achievement motivated behavior.[55] The mature individual is relatively independent, and demonstrates the willingness and the ability to assume responsibility. He has a background of education and experience relevant to the task before him; and he shows a commitment to accomplishing that task. He is self-directed. Groups as well as individuals can also be characterized as mature. A mature group knows what it is doing; and can organize itself in order to get a task accomplished. The group can direct itself, and can resolve internal conflicts. Immature behavior, on the part of individuals and groups, is not necessarily a function of chronological age or of time spent at a particular job or task. The immature individual is passive and dependent; he looks to others for direction and structure. The same is true of the immature group; it cannot function without guidance and direction, and is frequently marked by internal discord which

---

[55] David McClelland, "The Achievement Motive." Harvard Business Review (July-August, 1962) pp. 990112.

prohibits accomplishment of goals.

The categorization of leader behavior depicts essentially different leader personalities or patterns of behavior when the leader is involved in directing the activities of others. Task behavior (on a continuum from high to low) indicates the extent to which the leader defines roles for his followers, directs, explains, guides, recommends, delegates and designates how, when, where and by whom tasks are to be accomplished. High task behavior is characteristic of a leader who imposes a high degree of structure on his followers, sets direction, instructs, etc.. Low tasks behavior implies a low level of leader direction, etc.. Relationships behavior (also described on a high - low continuum) indicates the degree to which the leader establishes and maintains interpersonal relationships with and among his followers, engages in communication, provides socio-economic supports -- in short, acts to make his followers feel good, with themselves and with their leader. High relationships behavior entails a large amount of leader behavior directed toward interpersonal relationships and concerns. Low relationships depicts an essentially hands-off posture. The leader devotes little time and action to the area of interpersonal relationships and social communications with his followers.

Beginning with high task and low relationships behavior, which is an appropriate style for working with immature people, Life Cycle Theory suggests that appropriate leader behavior moves through quadrant 1, high task, low relationships behavior to quadrant 2, high task high relationship behavior, to quadrant 3, low task, high

relationships behavior to quadrant 4, low task and low relationships behavior which would be the appropriate style for working with a mature group of followers as the leader's followers progress from immaturity to maturity. Similarly, a leader fits his behavior to the maturity of the group or person that he is working with. Should a leader be given leadership of a group that is already mature, low task and low relationships behavior would be appropriate. Actually, a leader may encounter groups or individuals at any point on the immaturity-maturity continuum. He must diagnose the maturity of his followers, and design his behavior accordingly. This demands a high degree of flexibility on the part of the effective leader. Life Cycle Theory proposes that when a leader is working with an individual or group of below average maturity, he is most likely to be successful and effective if his leadership style is characterized by a high degree of task behavior. This theory is dealing in frequencies; that is, this behavior will most probably be effective in this situation.

If a leader can match his style to his follower's maturity, what can he then do to facilitate or initiate the group's movement and growth toward maturity. Hersey and Blanchard suggest using the techniques of behavior modification. For example, when he is working with very immature people, using an appropriate high task, low relationships style, the leader can cut back a little on structure, giving the followers small opportunities to assume some responsibility for directing their own work. When the leader gets the smallest approximation of mature behavior from the followers, he can immediately increase socio-economic support as positive reinforcement

(reinforcing successive approximations) in order to move through the function represented on the model in the direction of maturity.

Maslow's hierarchy of needs can be illustrated in Life Cycle Theory in the senses that: 1) more immature groups can generally be characterized by concern with physiological and safety needs than can mature groups and individuals and so on, while it is a mature group or individual that is immediately concerned with self-actualization; 2) those leadership styles appropriate for groups on the immaturity - maturity continuum also have a high probability of satisfying needs or providing incentives associated with the needs as depicted in the following diagram.

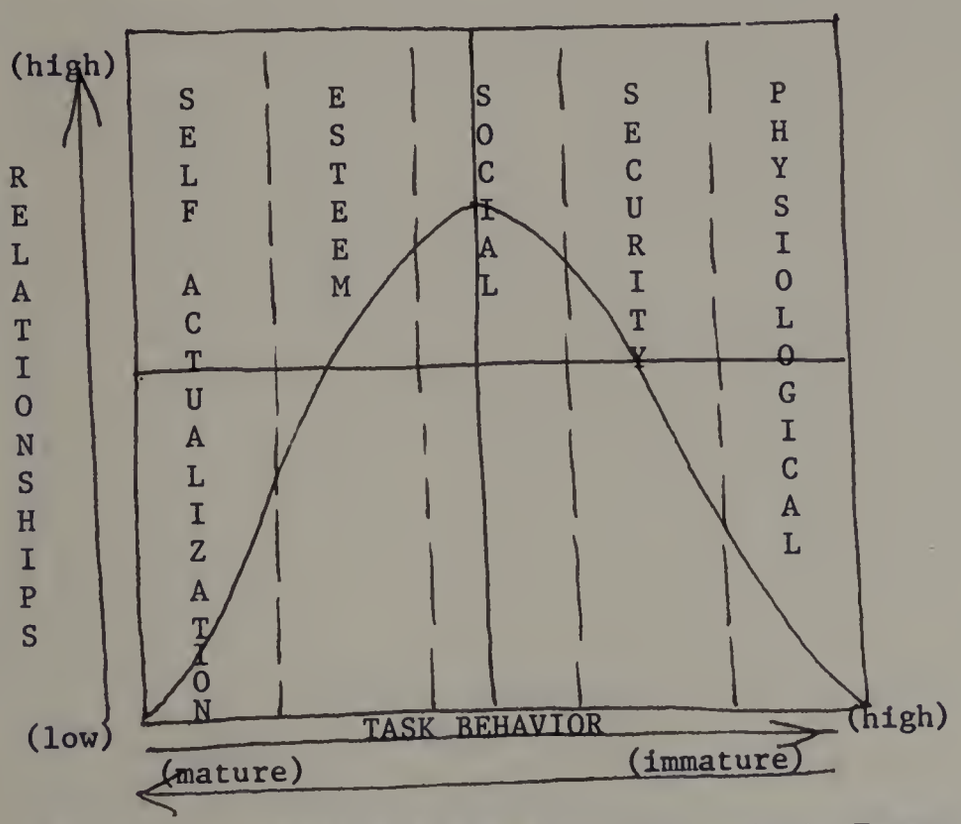


Figure 14. Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs in Terms of Life Cycle Theory.

The individual in an organization. Douglas MacGregor discusses basic assumptions about human nature and human behavior which seem to underlie every managerial decision or action. He suggests the name Theory X for one set of assumptions which seems to be the basis for many of those decisions:[56]

1. The average human being has an inherent dislike of work and will avoid it whenever he can.
2. Because of this dislike of work, most people must be coerced, controlled, directed and threatened with punishment to get them to put forth adequate effort toward the achievement of organizational objectives.
3. The average human being prefers to be directed, wishes to avoid responsibility, has relatively little ambition, and wants security above all else.

Theory X provides an explanation for some behavior evident in organizations; there is a considerable body of evidence to support them. There are, however, other observations which can and have been made which are not consistent with this view. There are instances, which can be observed, of individuals in an organization taking initiative and assuming responsibility independently of any direction.

Nevertheless, the great majority of people in organizations are treated in ways consistent with Theory X assumptions. According to Argyris, a human being, over the years of his life, evidences

---

[56]Douglas MacGregor, The Human Side of the Enterprise (McGraw-Hill, 1960).

changes in his personality which are characterized by Argyris as changes in the direction of increased maturity.[57] The dimensions of Argyris' immaturity - maturity continuum are the following:

Immaturity		Maturity
passivity	⟷	activity
dependence	⟷	independence
a limited range of behaviors	⟷	behaves in many ways
shallow interests	⟷	deeper interests and committments
a limited time perspective	⟷	broad time perspective
assumption of a subordinate position	⟷	assumption of an equal or superordinate position
lack of self-awareness	⟷	self-awareness and control

The tendency of healthy human beings is to move toward maturity during their lives. Many factors, however, may limit this growth. Argyris admits that very few adults actually do develop to complete maturity.

MacGregor conceives of growth toward maturity as movement through a hierarchy of needs similar to Maslow's. He relates these needs to individual behavior which can be observed in organizations. Where an individual's basic physiological needs (food, rest, shelter, physical comfort) are satisfied by an organization, needs at the next level begin to dominate behavior. These are the safety needs -- for protection against danger and deprivation. Where an employee is in a dependent position, safety needs assume considerable importance. Arbitrary management actions, behavior which arouses uncertainty with respect to continued employment or which reflects favoritism or discrimination, unpredictable administrations of policy, etc. can threaten safety and cause this need to be a

---

[57]Chris Argyris, Personality and Organization (Harper and Row, 1957).

powerful motivator, precluding any concern on the part of the individual for higher level needs, and consequently, blocking growth toward maturity. And so on through the hierarchy of needs.

Typically, organizations provide little opportunity for higher level needs to find expression as motivators -- needs for self-esteem, reputation and self-actualization. Similarly, Argyris contends that management practices utilized in organizations keep individuals from maturing. Individuals are given minimal control over their own working environments, and are encouraged to be passive, dependent and subordinate; hence, they behave immaturely. The worker in many organizations is expected to act in immature ways rather than as a mature adult. Individuals are kept at an immature level by organizations, where power and authority rests at the top, in the hands of a few, and their subordinates are kept strictly under control.

MacGregor proposes a second set of assumptions, Theory Y, which takes into account theories of individual growth and development. They are as follows:

1. The expenditure of physical and mental effort in work is as natural to human beings as play and rest. The average human being does not dislike work. Depending upon controllable conditions -- whether needs are allowed satisfaction and whether growth can take place -- work may be a source of satisfaction (and will be voluntarily

performed) or a source of punishment (and will be avoided if possible).

2. External control and threat of punishment are not the only means of bringing about efforts toward organizational objectives. While they may be necessary for immature personalities, threats and tight controls are only effective in the short-term. For mature persons, or as the immature person matures, other means of securing commitment to organizational goals are more effective. And, individuals will exercise self-control and self-direction in the service of objectives to which they are committed.

3. Commitment to objectives is a function of the rewards associated with their achievement. Rewards must be considered in relation to needs -- a reward is "rewarding" only when it satisfies a need. To an individual whose safety needs are prepotent, the reward of permanency in his work situation, or tenure, may be sufficient to get him to perform in accordance with organizational goals. Once tenure has been granted, it can no longer serve as a reward, and rewards at this point may effectively be directed toward higher level needs, such as esteem needs. Perhaps a citation or an award may serve as a reward. Ultimately, the satisfaction of esteem needs and self-actualization needs can be direct products of efforts directed toward organizational objectives.

4. The average human being learns under proper conditions not only to accept, but also to seek responsibility. Avoidance of responsibility, seeming lack of ambition, and emphasis on security are generally consequences of experiences -- products of lower level needs -- and not inherent human characteristics.

5. The capacity to exercise a relatively high degree of control, imagination, ingenuity, and creativity in the solution of organizational problems is widely, not narrowly, distributed in the population.

6. Under the conditions prevalent in contemporary organizations, the intellectual potentialities of the average human being are only partially utilized.

These Theory Y assumptions stress the possibility of human growth and development.

It must be said, in summary, that these hypotheses (Argyris', MacGregor's and Maslow's as well) imply a moral judgment -- that independence and self-actualization are ultimate values, and that dependence, uncreativity and unproductivity indicate deficiencies.

In fact, the great majority of adults are <u>not</u> self-actualized or completely mature. Most people don't seem to want complete freedom; they want to know the limits within which they can act. Many people feel comfortable working in a highly structured situation. Many of these people may be "immature" personalities who may have "adjusted" to organizations or society

by becoming apathetic or dependent, but who might respond differently given a different environment and different opportunities. Given a feeling of security and the opportunity to assume more responsibility and to satisfy higher level needs, these persons may exhibit more mature behavior. But, in the cases of some other of these people who are dependent and need structure, the restrictions which occurred in their childhoods and/or are present in their culture, may have conditioned them to dependency to the extent that they do not respond to increased autonomy. Their attitudes and behavior may be difficult to change short of intensive psychotherapy.

Sudden attempts to increase autonomy for those and for other very dependent people might be quite disturbing. At this point Life Cycle Theory has relevancy. The effective leader meets his followers where they are in terms of their development toward maturity; he provides that amount of structure necessary for organizational goals to be accomplished at that point. And, when he determines that his followers are ready, he effectively moves from there to a posture of slightly less structure and directiveness.

Change. There resides in every human being a desire to change and a desire to remain the same. The desire to change seems to be motivated by the idea of growth and enhancement, and by the belief that things can be better, and that every person can be and can do things better than at the present. The desire to remain the same (to not change) seems to be motivated by the desire for

safety, security and the predictability of the status quo. The factors which tend to keep a person where he is can be represented by a set of vectors as illustrated in the following diagram:

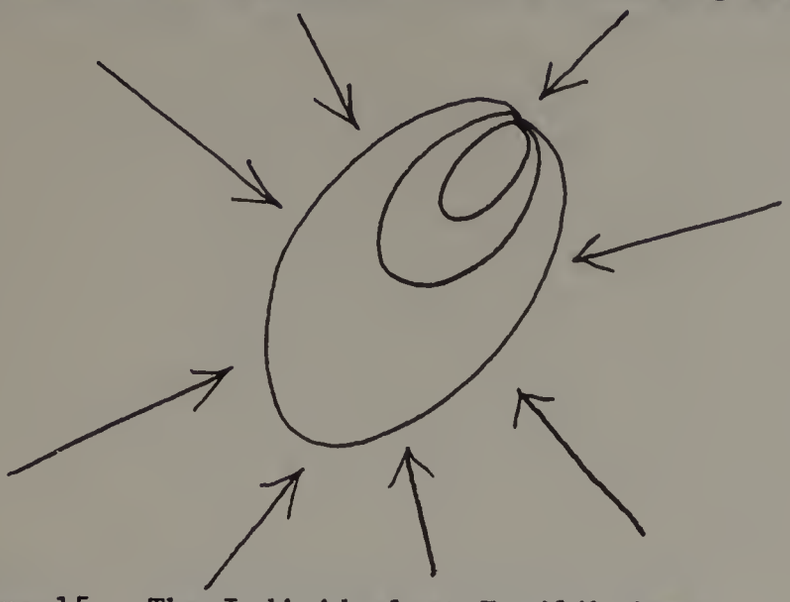


Figure 15. The Individual at Equilibrium

The arrows represent the forces which tend to hold the person in his present equilibrium state. Clearly, weakening or enhancing any of these forces (as could be represented by lengthening or shortening any of the vectors) would have the effect of moving the person from his initial position. Totally removing all, or at least many of these forces would leave the individual in an extreme state of anxiety or disequilibrium, and ready and willing to accept a new position where there is at least some stability. This is a situation which Schein defines as "unfreezing." The extreme state of an "unforzen" person could be represented by the circle in the preceding diagram with no vectors. This individual is extremely succeptible to any forces then imposed or acting upon him. At this extreme, a person is ready for change. "In brief, unfreezing is the breaking down of the mores, customs and traditions

of an individual -- the old ways of doing things -- so that he is ready to accept new alternatives."[58]

Change, then, is brought about first by the creation of an imbalance in the forces which keep the individual where he is, and then by increasing or imposing forces which tend to move the person in a given direction. Those forces which tend to move a person in a desired and specified direction to bring about a particular change will be called driving forces. Those forces which directly oppose the driving forces will be called restraining forces. Both can be represented by vectors.

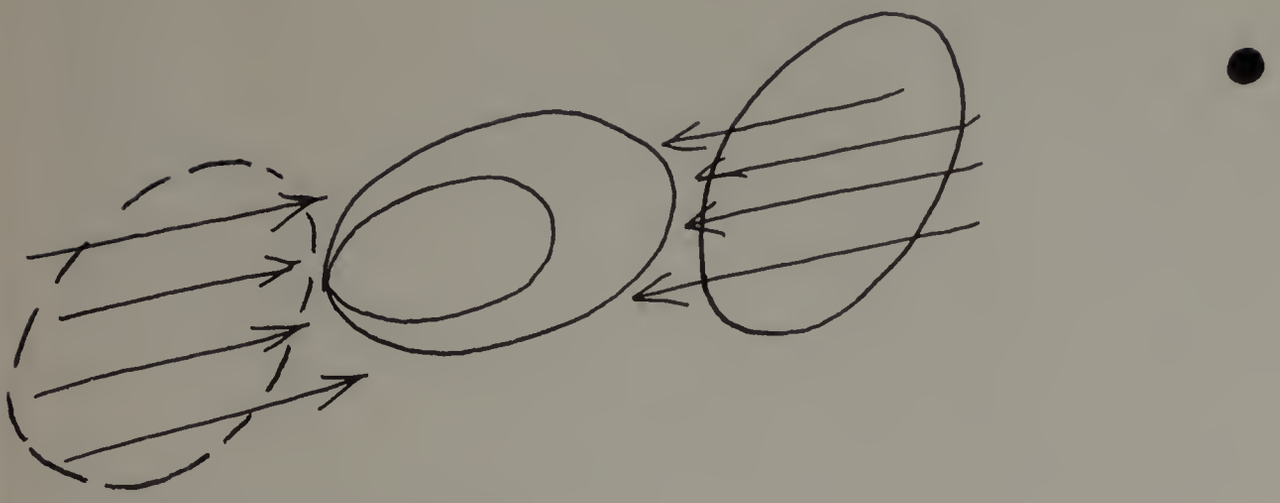
The vectors are equal and opposite when no movement is taking place. Increasing the number or the strength of the driving forces or weakening or eliminating some of the restraining forces will create a state of imbalance or disequilibrium, and the individual will move in the direction of the desired change. When the position of desired change is reached, then the forces will need to be balanced again so as to create a new state of equilibrium at the point of desired change. The factors which represent the new state of equilibrium will be somewhat different from those representing the old state.

The process can be ill strated by examining the case of a teacher in a school where the administration introduces a new curriculum.

---

[58]Hersey and Blanchard, p. 162.

Figure 16. Driving and Restraining Forces and Change.



This diagram represents the teacher, at present, teaching the "old" curriculum.

This point represents the place where the administrator would like the teacher to be.

Those vectors, generally speaking, which are circled with the solid line are those which keep the teacher from moving in the direction of the point of desired change -- the restraining forces. The driving forces are the opposing vectors, circled here with a dotted line.

Given this conceptualization, the first step for the administrator wishing to accomplish the curriculum change would be to attempt to identify the driving and restraining forces affecting the teacher.

Some of the restraining forces might be:

Habit -- teaching the old curricilúlum
Acceptance of the old curriculum
Success (as deemed by the teacher and administrator) up to this point
Knowledge of and familiarity with the old curriculum
Friendship with one of the old curriculum writers
Predictability of student responses to the old curriculum

Lack of knowledge and familiarity with new curriculum
Fear of negative peer sanctions for "rate-busting"
Time and money requirements to learn the new curriculum
Administrative sanction of the old curriculum

Some of the driving forces might be:

Possible enhanced student achievement
Acceptance by some peers of the new curriculum
Teacher's own curiosity
Increased promotion potential
Acceptance by and approval of the administration
Adventure in trying something new
Attractive new curriculum materials

The administrator's next step would be to identify those forces over which he has some degree of control. Clearly, for example, the administrator could have little influence over the teacher's friendship with the writer of the old curriculum. Some forces which he could possibly control might be:

Teacher knowledge of and exposure to new curriculum
Time and money for the teacher to study the new curriculum content and strategies
Provision of new materials
Demonstration to the teacher that students actually are not succeeding in all areas with the old curriculum
Provision of opportunities for the teacher to observe students responding to the new curriculum
Removal of administrative sanctions for the old curriculum and provision of administrative support for new

This is a step of great importance. The administrator must recognize what he can and cannot do and what he can do within the limits of the time and resources available to him.

The next step: a possible "unfreezing" situation. To bring about unfreezing, the administrator could create disequilibrium by changing or eliminating <u>any</u> of the forces acting on the teacher, whether they are directly related to the old and new curricula, or not.

The administrator might want to remove some of the restraining forces listed above; he might also want to remove some other unrelated supports.

Administrative "unfreezing" actions with respect to the restraining forces might be:

Removal of administrative sanctions for the old curriculum
Provision of new materials to the teacher
Failure to restock any old curriculum materials
Provision of data to the teacher showing that students are presently not succeeding in some areas

Administrative "unfreezing" actions with respect to unrelated forces might be:

Change of enrollment in teacher's courses
Changes in teaching schedule
Changes in teacher evaluation system
New system for budgeting and requesting materials

After unfreezing, very definite steps must be taken to effect change in the desired direction. Restraining forces must be eliminated pr decreased in strength and the driving forces must be increased. For example:

Let the teacher observe other teachers using new curriculum
Provide training workshops on school time
Provide new curriculum materials without delay
Provide guidance and support as teacher takes steps to implement the new curriculum

Once the teacher begins to use the new curriculum, change in the desired direction has taken place and a new state of equilibrium must be created. This would involve maintaining some of the driving forces as mentioned above, as well as adding some new supports for the new position. For example:

Rewarding the teacher for good work done with the new curriculum with some recognition
Introducing the teacher to a new curriculum supervisor who will work with the teacher in implementing the new curriculum

Two points are particularly relevant with respect to the preceding conceptualization and discussion of the change process. First, though in the example the administrator is the one who attempts to identify forces acting on the teacher and to characterize those forces as driving or restraining forces with respect to the particular change he has in mind, it is the meaning of those forces (and others) as perceived by the teacher that influences the teacher's behavior. The administrator can at best infer these meanings and the magnitudes and natures of the forces. Secondly, the distinction that Hersey and Blanchard make between participative and coerced change is significant.[59] Participative change is implemented when new information is made available to an individual or group, and when, using that information, the individual or group sets a goal and becomes committed to change in the direction of that goal. Once accepted, participative change tends to be long-lasting; it may, however, take a long time to bring it about. Coerced change is imposed on an individual or on an organization "from the top." The coerced change cycle necessitates significant position power on the part of the leader or change agent, as well as the application of rewards, punishments and sanctions. It takes a shorter time to

---

[59] pages 159-160.

implement coerced than participative change, though coerced change may only be maintained so long as the leader has the position power to make it stick. The participative change cycle tends to be more effective and appropriate for working with mature people, who are able to set their own goals and assume responsibility autonomously. With immature people, the coerced change cycle might be more appropriate because immature people are more often dependent, and prefer direction and structure to being faced with the responsibility for making decisions.

Teacher - Student Interactions

Observations. Based on the experiences of this writer, the following interactions seem typical of the urban, American classroom.

The teacher normally dominates classroom conversation; in other words, takes up the great majority of classroom talk-time. This is true whether or not the teacher's method is lecture, lecture-demonstration or class discussion, and is often true even when the students are engaged in activities. The application of a Flanders Interaction Analysis will most often verify this statement. In such classrooms, teachers are giving instructions about how to proceed, explaining, evaluating and/or monitoring behavior. When there are conversational exchanges in the classroom, most often they between the teacher and a student

or between the teacher and the entire group of students, rather than between or among students. Most of the questions posed in the class are posed by the teacher; students ask very few questions during the course of instruction.

Careful observation yields the information that when a teacher asks a question of a student, the teacher invariably provides a very short period of time for the student to respond -- on the average about one second -- before either repeating or rewording the question, or calling upon another student to answer.[60] In addition, teachers characteristically allow shorter wait-time for students whom they categorize as poor or slow students.[61]

Teachers will often, when a student does respond, repeat, sometimes with modifications, that student's response. When asked why they do so, teachers overwhelmingly respond that they repeat students' answers so that other students can hear.

Teachers also, by the ways in which they inflect words and send other non-verbal cues, provide clues to students as to what the appropriate (appropriate to the teacher, that is) response to a question is. In such situations observant students come to rely on these teacher cues as a means of providing the expected answers.

Related to the preceeding ideas are the ways in which teachers

---

[60]Mary Budd Rowe, "Science, Silence and Sanctions," Science and Children (March, 1969) 11-13.

[61]Ibid.

make use of positive and negative rewards and sanctions. A student who gives the answer that the teacher expects may receive such rewards as: "Very good, Johnny" (smile), while the youngster who gives an improper or unexpected answer is either at best given no feedback, or at worst told that he has failed and that his answer is incorrect. The latter group of children often withdraw from voluntary participation in classroom activities. Clearly, the teacher is the sole source of authority as to the "correctness" of a response.

Also preponderant in classroom interactions is the question "Why?" -- asked by teachers to students. When teachers ask students "why did you do that?" or "why do you feel that way?" teachers are asking students to justify their feelings and their actions. Teachers also ask "Why?" when students give responses related to the subject matter. Teachers are then asking students to analyze and explicate reasons for statements, observations or conclusions. In short, the question "Why?" is one which puts the students on the defensive -- the students must quickly think up explanations in order to answer. It also implies that the behavior or the response is simply not accepted as is.

Finally, for whatever reasons, there are in many classrooms students who are virtually ignored by their teachers. Very early in this writer's work with young students this message was brought home vividly through the medium of video-tape. A boy had been waving his hand frantically and with great persistence to get the writer's attention when he was teaching a class. When this was brought

to his attention in the video-tape playback, the writer realized that there was no excuse for his not having seen the waving hand and the youngster almost jumping out of his seat -- but he simply did not see him during the class period. This writer has observed the same phenomenon in many other classrooms with other teachers. These children, whether waving their hands or sitting quietly in the corner of the room, are the "invisible children" and can be found in classrooms throughout the country. They are the children about whom teachers say: "I did not see him raise his hand," or "I did not realize that I had not asked him a question or involved him in class activities."

Implications. To begin with, the teacher-dominated classroom gives everyone (especially the students) the impression that the most important person in the room is the teacher. The teacher is the dispenser of information, the judge of responses, and the one who sets the directions for the class. The impression that there can be no valuable ideas other than those given or approved by the teacher is clear. The student who invents a new combination of ideas or a new way of working with materials that was not anticipated by the teacher may very well have given an "incorrect" answer. But, more importantly, because the teacher dominates the talk-time in class, that student may never have the opportunity to express or to share his invention. Student initiative and creativity are limited, and consequently the opportunities for self-enhancement and growth that come with the experience of doing

something new and different. This analysis should not be construed to mean that the teacher should never be the prime talker in the classroom, but when teacher dominance is a repeated pattern of classroom interaction, the students are stifled and their growth inhibited.

Teachers who allow a second or a little more for a student to respond to a teacher move tend to have a negative effect on the student's developing slef-concept. In any given situation where a student is expected to give a response, the student must select from the many alternatives available to him in order to respond intelligently. The processing of alternatives requires time; the student who cannot process alternatives and provide a correct answer in the one second provided must believe himself to be deficient in some way. When wait-time is increased, the following things may happen:

1. The length of student responses may increase.
2. Students may engage increasingly in speculative thinking.
3. The number of questions that students ask may increase.
4. Teachers may learn more about what students can do.
5. An increased number of students may respond to questions.
6. There may be more student-student dialogue.

Many teachers fall into the pattern of repeating student responses and even student questions when they are asked. This practice tends to say to the students that a statement cannot be right or wrong unless it is made by a teacher. The teacher's

saying something somehow gives it value. This leaves the student thinking that what he has said, or the way in which he has said it, is inadequate, and thus reinforces the position that "I'm not OK" (the student) but "You are" (the teacher).

When a student comes to rely on cues from the teacher which determine his responses, his only possibility for self-enhancement in the classroom lies in his ability to read those cues. This, or course, limits the child's opportunities for growth based on his own ability to understand and to explain any of the infinite topics raised in a course of instruction. The child's growth and the growth of his self-concept must correspondingly be limited. The responsibility for thought, analysis and inquiry belongs to the teacher; the student's only responsibility is to be clever in finding out what the teacher's answers are.

Usually, teachers use sanctions (positive and negative rewards) rather indiscriminately. In fact, sanctions constitute as much as twenty-five per cent of the teacher-talk in many classrooms.[62] This nurtures a dependency stance in the students; the students depend on the teacher for rewards and satisfactions rather than on the personal satisfactions of their own good efforts, to the extent that students do not become independent or autonomous. When rewards are high, students tend to stop investigating, questioning or inquiring sooner than when they are left to evaluate their own efforts. Similarly, when students who habitually look to the teacher for rewards stop getting these

---

[62]Ibid.

sanctions, they stop working, because the teacher's approval is the only reward they had in mind. Helpful correction by the teacher is more productive. It does not judge or reward, but guides, and therefore allows students to assume the responsibility for their own evaluation.

With regard to the "Why?" questions, Ginott makes the following analysis:

> Once upon a time, "why" was a term of inquiry. This meaning has long vanished. It was corrupted by the misuse of "why" as a coin of criticism. To children "why" stands for disapproval, disappointment and displeasure.[63]

For children, the "Why?" is linked to stress and blame. A "Why?" with regard to attitudes or behavior is a demand for self-disclosure. It is an intrusion upon the privacy of the child. A "Why?" with regard to subject matter has not only the evaluative effect described by Ginott, but also has the effect of closing off growth, and of ending inquiry and observation. It demands an explanation which may most likely be premature. The student will most likely not be prepared to rationalize and to verbalize to the extent required to answer intelligently. A premature "Why?" is a step toward safety and toward closure rather than an invitation toward growth and inquiry. Further, asking children "Why?" connotes a lack of acceptance of what the child has said or done, unless somehow the student can explain his action or statement to the teacher's satisfaction. Acceptance of

---

[63]Haim Ginott, Teacher and Child (New York: Macmillan, 1972).

a child's statement or behavior -- though not necessarily agreement with it -- conveys respect and safeguards the child's autonomy, and leaves with the child the responsibility for further action.

The effect of being invisible on the self-concept seems clear. That effect is to deny the child any existence in the context of school. Any individual will oppose his "death" in this fashion. As a consequence, the child may: 1) simply withdraw, 2) use this experience as further justification for a negative self-concept, 3) become a discipline problem in order to gain some attention.

The quality and quantity of teacher interactions with students would seem to have great impact -- both in the school learning context and in the context of overall growth and development. These interactions speak to the "I'm OK - You're OK" concept; they can enhance a student's position or can demean it and reinforce any already existing Not OK feelings, such as those acquired at home in early childhood or through interactions with the larger society. There are many other practices which tend to have effects opposite to those discussed here. This writer could have presented a different picture in which teachers are doing good things which tend to enhance and support the development of positive self-concepts in their students. Unfortunately, for the students discussed in this paper, these good things probably don't occur often enough to overcome the effects of the negative influences described earlier. That is

to say, there are some teachers who do things which enhance student's positive self-concepts, but there are too many who do not.

It is not unreasonable to conclude that many teachers perceive the students (especially the urban, minority group students) with whom they work, in the following ways: as having little to contribute to the learning which might take place in a classroom; as incapable of thoughtful and intelligent expression; as having limited potential for growth; as persons who need to be "controlled;" as dependent and as irresponsible.

Summary

The ideas selected for discussion in this chapter relate to the dissertation topic from a variety of perspectives. In summary, the following dimensions will be examined as a foundation for the presentation of models in the next chapter of this paper: the impact of student self-perceptions on student growth; the impact of teacher perceptions of students on student growth; and, ultimately, a conceptualization of the conceivable relationships between administrator behavior in schools and school systems and teacher perceptions of students.

Student Self-Perceptions. Student behavior, which may lead to academic success or failure is viewed in the context of perceptual psychology as a direct product of student self-perceptions. Students who perceive themselves as academically unable will act as if they were; students who perceive themselves as persons who

fail, will, most often, fail, and so on. Students who feel themselves Not OK will act immature, dependent and irresponsible. Those students will not be able to make the decisions which may ultimately enhance their own growth, and will not, therefore, be able to assume the responsibility for their own learning, in or out of school. At the other extreme, were these students able to feel secure and OK, and were they able to perceive themselves in essentially positive ways -- as capable, worthy, responsible and relatively independent -- their behavior in school, and consequently their academic achievement would reflect these differences. These students would experience greater success and they would assume much of the responsibility for what and for how they learn. They would be free to make choices directed toward growth and would move in the direction of utilizing and developing fully their own capabilities and potentialities and their skills for dealing with the world.

Teachers Perceptions of Students. The ways teachers perceive their students has a rather direct relationship to the ways in which their students perceive themselves. Teachers' behavior toward students gives information to those students about themselves in school. And, teachers' behaviors toward students are a product of the teachers' perceptions of those students. Negative teacher perceptions of students have the effect of teachers "telling" students negative things about themselves (the students). These teachers reinforce and supplement the child's Not OK feelings and

negative perceptions gained during the child's earlier years -- from parents, society, etc.. They make it virtually impossible for the child to feel safe and secure in school, and thus block any growth that might take place through education. They treat the child in ways that keep him immature. Conversely, teachers who hold positive perceptions of students have the effect of "telling" them positive things. These teachers say to the child: "You are OK, you are a worthy, capable and respectable human being." These teachers also say: "I believe that you can succeed; I believe that you are a special individual who can and will do many special things." These teachers make it possible for students to assume responsibility for their own decisions and actions -- enabling the students tp grow toward maturity. Evidence would strongly suggest that there are too few teachers sending the latter message to their students.

This question must be considered: how do teachers develop and maintain negative perceptions of students? As perceptions are built up as a product of experiences as interpreted by the teacher, there are many experiences with and having to do with students which can be interpreted by teachers in the light of their own feelings about themselves and their entire repertoire of experience. Put in other words, teachers examine data about their students in the light of their own beliefs. Teachers who perceive themselves positively would be more likely to have positive perceptions of students than would teachers whose self-perceptions are negative ones.

Or, teachers who are able to perceive their students in a context relatively free of the teacher's own needs -- for safety, status, etc. -- and free of childhood (Parent and Child) prejudices are most likely to perceive students positively, and as having unlimited potentialities for development.

All of the ideas discussed in this chapter allow some provision for change to occur. With regard to perceptions, since perceptions are built up as a product of experiences, it is possible to change perceptions through the accumulation and interpretation of further experiences. At the simplest level, perceptions may be changed through exposure, especially repeated exposure to new experiences. Perceptions may be changed as a product of frustration; when an individual's perceptions do not serve him in accomplishing goals that he has in view, the individual may try out new ways of looking at things, and make new assumptions. To extend this idea, if teachers are committed to school or school system goals, and if they see that their negative perceptions of and expectations for students might stand in their way, then teachers may be ready to make some alterations in their perceptions. In terms of transactional analysis, change is possible when the teacher acts in the Adult, and when he recognizes that perceptions emanating from his Parent or Child may make it impossible for him to examine and to deal with the present data. And, according to Maslow, when teachers are at the point where they feel safe, secure, esteemed and capable themselves, then they can view their students more realistically and devote the major part of their

concern in schools to being effective teachers. Finally, the behaviorist approach to change dictates that the desired change is a change in behavior, and that the forces acting upon the teacher in schools are the causes of desirable and undesirable behavior. Change in behavior would be brought about by alterations in these forces.

Administrator behavior and teacher perceptions of students. Some attention must be given at this point to the relevance of the perceptions, expectations, assumptions and points of view held by the school administrator to the theories, models and courses of action which he may employ in efforts to enhance teachers' positive perceptions of their students. Very basically, it is the contention of this writer that any school administrator who voices concern for and interest in the aim stated in this dissertation -- that of making more positive teachers' perceptions of their urban, minority group students -- must himself believe that these students are worthy and capable. He must, himself, perceive students positively; he must expect that these students can succeed. When he perceives students positively, teachers and students alike get this message. Without this very basic first step, which enables the administrator to convey his positive perceptions and expectations to teachers and to students, little else can be done in the direction of establishing a climate where students are viewed as capable. An administrator who holds essentially positive beliefs about and feelings for his students manifests these perceptions in his behavior with students and teachers. Students are likely to respond positively to him.

A student who is treated as a valued and respected individual by the school administrator, is very likely to begin to act like one. Teachers who see students acting in these "new" ways are likely also to revise to some extent their perceptions of and expectations for these students. And so on the cycle may continue. But, as a further example, administrators who declare their positive expectations for students, but who treat students without respect and allow them no dignity in school, are likely to elicit irresponsible behavior from these students and thus reinforce negative perceptions of students held by teachers. Administrators' positive perceptions are crucial to developing more positive perceptions of students in teachers and in the students themselves.

The most glaring discrepancies in the ideas reviewed exists regarding the argument for free choice as posed by the existential philosophers and as embraced by Maslow, perceptual psychology and transactional analysis, and Skinner's argument for no free choice at all. The extent to which the position that the administrator assumes regarding this issue might influence his acceptence and effective use of one or another model must also be considered. To this writer there seems little difference between the argument for free choice as stated by existential philosophy and the argument for no free choice as stated by Skinner, and the whole philosophical question of free will. This writer accepts the Positivists' "resolution" of the question -- pointing out that the question is a metaphysical one, in that there are no

possible observations which can lead to the resolution of the disagreement either in behalf of the Existentialists or on behalf of the Behaviorists. It seems then that the pragmatic question of what if any difference it makes whether one adopts one point of view or the other should be the guiding question regarding point of view or course of action. So, if one adopts the Behaviorist point of view he may "excuse" the behavior of an individual on the grounds that the environment or environmental factors are somehow responsible. This stance carries with it the implication that attempts to change must be attempts to change behavior, and must be directed toward modifying the school environment. Whereas should one adopt the Extentialist point of view that the individual himself can be responsible for his behavior, then change strategies would be more likely to be ultimately directed at the teachers' internal states -- motives, needs, perceptions, beliefs, etc. -- in attempts to influence behavior.

To this writer, the point made by Skinner about not blaming the victim, but looking at forces which influence him has some validity, as does the contention that at some point individuals must begin to accept some responsibility for their own actions. This idea relates to many of the theories examined in this paper -- including Maslow's hierarchy of needs, self-actualization, authenticity, and "Adulthood." There is a point beyond which people can be at all concerned with self-actualization, self-direction, autonomy and

accepting responsibility. Up to this point, environmental influences have strong effects on the behavior of the individual and self-direction and free choice have little real meaning.

There are, of course, further implications of the administrator's point of view. The administrator who operates according to Theory X assumptions acts as a mirror for teachers. If teachers see themselves as Theory X persons in the school organization, then probably, they accept little responsibility for student achievement: a) because they, the teachers, aren't capable of accomplishing such a difficult task, and b) because there are too many things "wrong" with the students to enable them to learn properly, and to hope that their achievement could ever reach the norm. This position is also relatively secure for teachers; teachers can say that they are doing the best they can, but you just can't expect too much from "these students." If the teachers really thought that they could teach better, and that the students really could learn, their position in the school would not be quite so comfortable and secure. On the other side, if the administrator holds Theory Y assumptions, and if teachers justify these assumptions, then teachers must accept some responsibility for what students learn in their classrooms, and they must bear at least some of the responsibility if their students, as a group, are repeatedly unsuccessful.

Chapter III of this paper deals with the issues discussed in this summary and others, as models are presented and explicated.

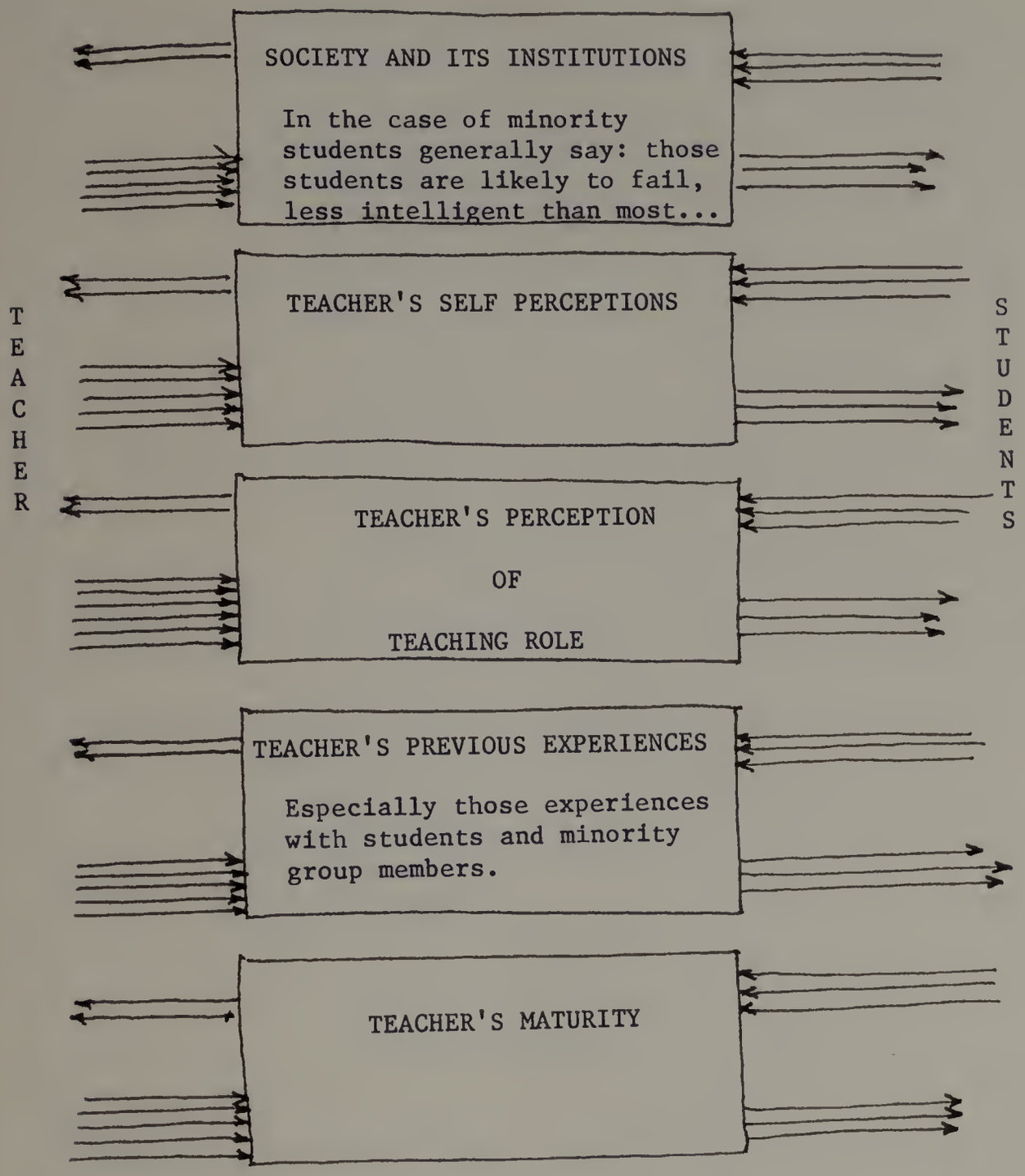
CHAPTER III

MODELS

Teacher Perceptions of Students

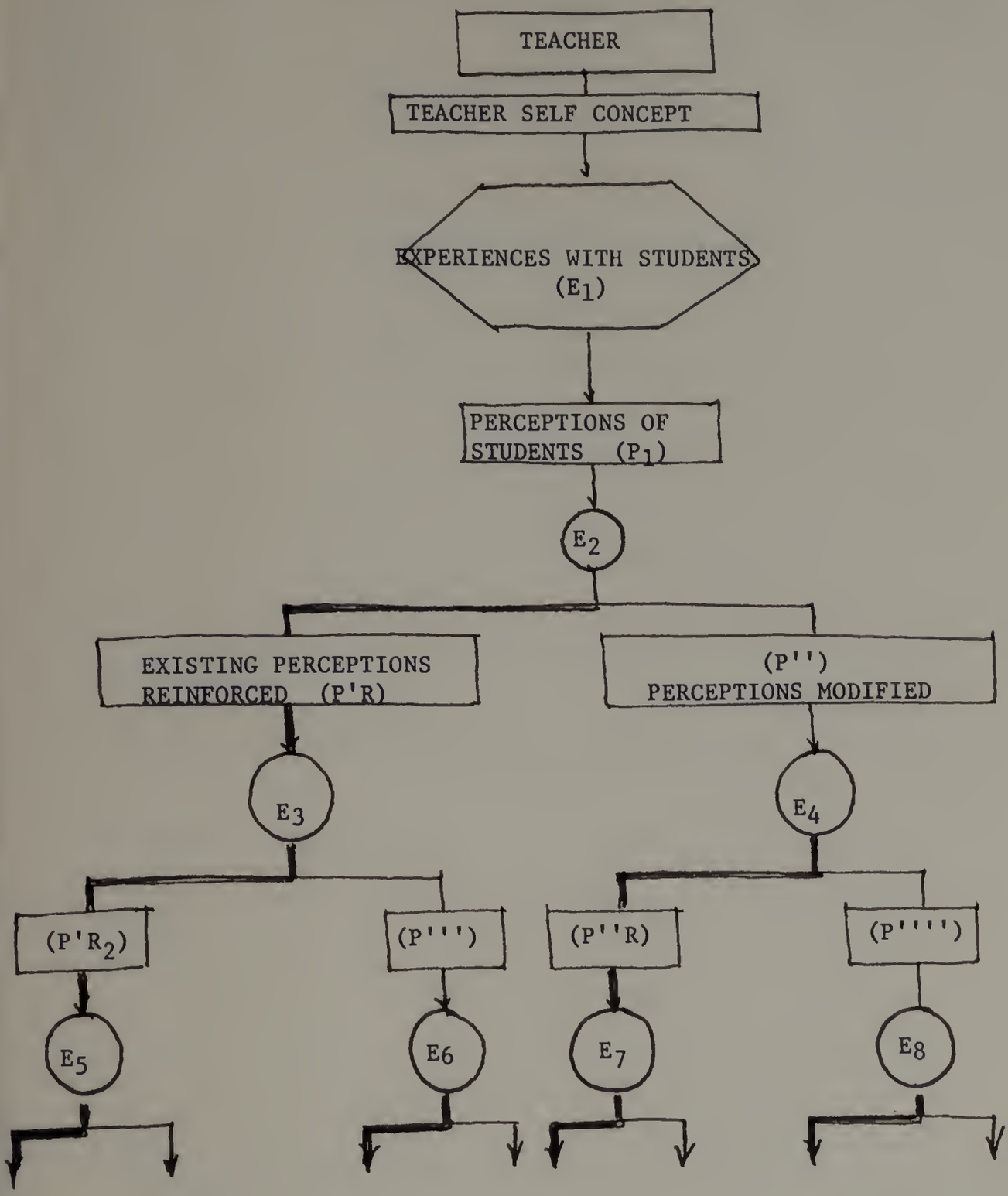
From the preceding literature review, especially the discussions of perceptual psychology, Maslow and Life Cycle Theory, some models seem to be suggested which may provide guidelines for administrators in assisting teachers to improve their perceptions of the target group of students. These models are presented and explicated in this chapter, the first three models dealing with conceptualizations of the development of teacher perceptions of students, and the following models dealing directly with administrator influences on teacher perceptions.

Model I: Teacher Perceptions of Students (Urban/Minority Group Students in Particular). Teachers perceive students through filters (Figure 17).



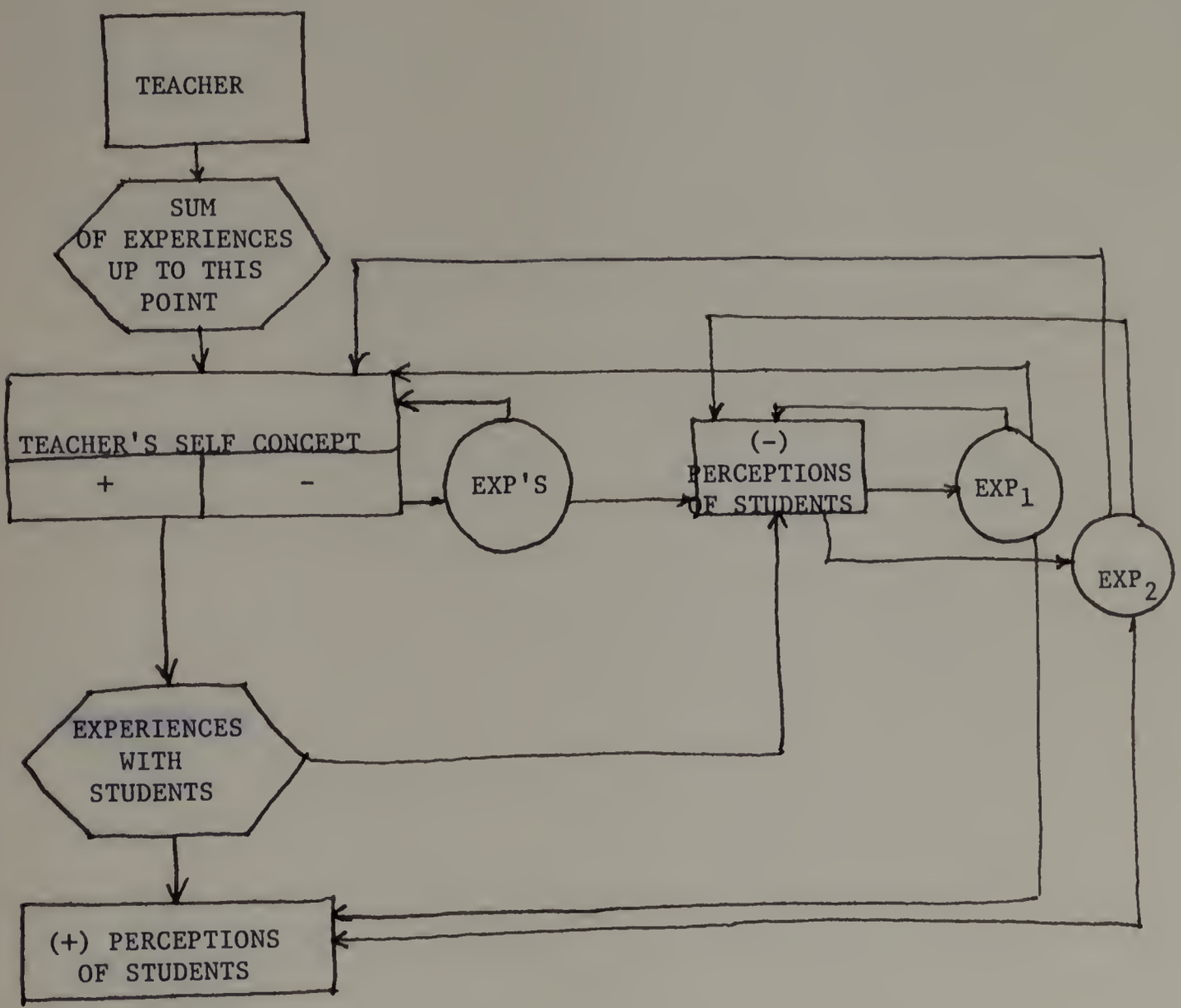
These filters (though certainly this is not an exhaustive listing) determine what experiences the teacher will select to perceive, as well as how he perceives those experiences.

Model II: Development and Evolution of Teacher Perceptions of Students (Figure 18).



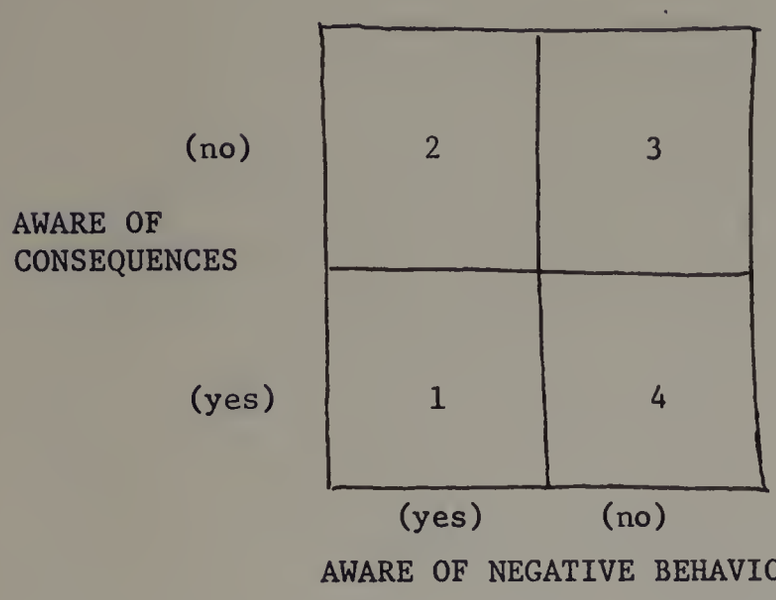
The basic perception is likely to be maintained, as the teacher selects experiences to maintain it, and as those experiences selected will tend to provide support for already existing perceptions.

Model III: Development of Positive Teacher Perceptions of Students (Figure 19).



Models for Administrators: Improving Teachers' Perceptions of Students

Model IV - A: Teacher Groupings (Figure 20).



The teachers with whom school administrators work can be grouped according to: a) awareness of their negative behaviors (as characterized in Definitions) toward students, and b) awareness of the consequences of those behaviors for students. According to the model represented in Figure 20, four groups of teachers can be defined:

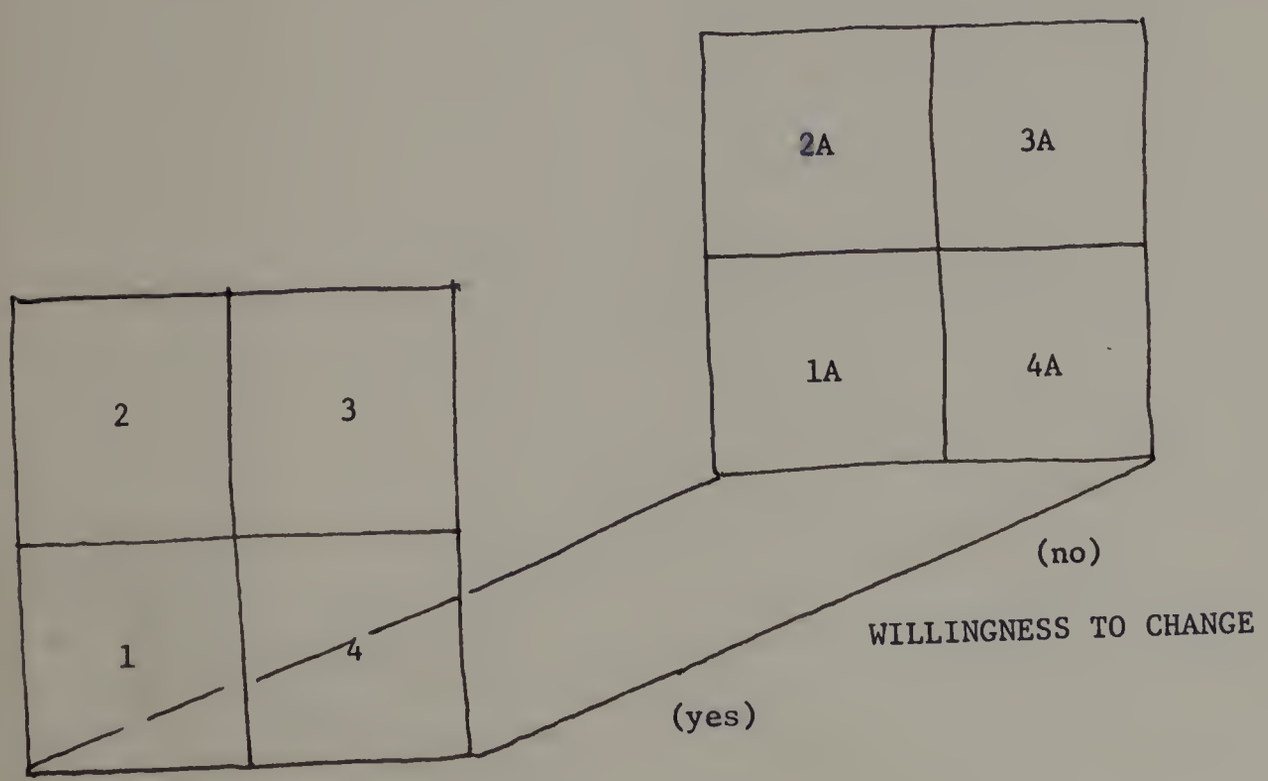
1. Those teachers who are aware of their negative behaviors and are aware of the consequences of those behaviors for their students.
2. Those who are aware of their negative behaviors but who are not aware of the consequences of those behaviors for students.

3. Those who are not aware of their negative behaviors but who recognize the possible consequences of negative behaviors for students.

4. Those who are not aware of their negative behaviors and who are not aware of the consequences of those behaviors.

An assumption underlying this model is the assumption that all teachers exhibit some behaviors toward students which can be classified as negative. A third dimension can be added to this model: teachers' willingness to try to change if they knew what changes could be made and how -- including willingness to accept at least some responsibility for change, desire to do something differently, desire to see students succeed, and receptiveness to new information.

Model IV - B: Teacher Groupings (Figure 21).



According to this model, teachers can be classified in eight groups:

1A. Those who are aware of negative behaviors, aware of the consequences, and willing to change.
1B. Those who are aware of their negative behaviors, aware of their consequences and not willing to change.
2A. Those who are aware of their negative behaviors, but not aware of their consequences, and willing to change.
2B. Those who are aware of their negative behaviors, not aware of their consequences, and not willing to change.
3A. Those who are not aware of negative behaviors, but aware of the possible consequences, and willing to change.
3B. Those who are not aware of negative behaviors, but aware of the possible consequences, and not willing to change.
4A. Those who are not aware of negative behaviors, not aware of their consequences, but willing to change.
4B. Those who are not aware of negative behaviors, not aware of their consequences, not willing to change.

Of course, these groupings are not simple yes or no matters; each position indicates a degree of awareness and willingness to change on the part of the teacher. The categorization of teachers itself requires that the administrator have at least a tentative awareness of the positions of the teachers. This diagnosis and categorization could be done informally by the administrator based on his knowledge of and experience with the teachers, or a more formal approach could be used. Each teacher could participate in a video-taping and viewing session. A checklist of negative behaviors could be completed by each teacher regarding his taped classroom behaviors. The "score" on the checklist could be interpreted for the teacher by the administrator as meaning "an indication of negative perceptions of students." Teachers could then be asked: 1) Is that the way you see yourself as a teacher? (to determine the degree of awareness of behavior.) 2) What effects

do you think that your behavior might have for students? (To determine the degree of teacher awareness of the consequences of negative behaviors for students.) 3) What, if anything, would you do to make your behavior toward students more positive?

Group 1A. Those teachers who are aware that they do behave in ways which contribute to the maintenance of negative, Not OK feelings on the part of their students are classified in this group if they would be willing to change if they knew what changes to make and how to make them. Most probably, these teachers are relatively mature individuals who would like to do good jobs as teachers, and who can probably accept and integrate new information. The administrator will most likely be able to facilitate this change by exposing teachers to new sets of behaviors that have positive consequences for students, and to the students' responses to those behaviors. Participative change strategies would be effective.

Group 1B. Teachers in this group are aware that they behave in ways that have the effect of increasing their students' negative perceptions of themselves and thus limiting severely students' chances for success, achievement and growth. But, the teachers don't want to change; they want to continue their behaviors and to continue affecting their students in these ways. In this case, the administrator will accomplish change in the direction of more positive teacher behaviors (increased positive perceptions) only through coercive change strategies. Should the administrator find that coerced change in this case moves slowly, and during the

process administrator time and resources are expended unreasonably, as students continue to suffer the consequences of negative behaviors, the teacher should be removed from the classroom.

Group 2A. These teachers are aware of the negative ways they behave toward students, but are not aware of the effects of these behaviors on students' self-perceptions and if their possible influence on students' present and future success and growth. They are, however, willing to change. These teachers are probably mature to the extent that they know what they do, but unenlightened in that they don't recognize probable consequences. It is likely that they behave in negative ways because "that's what is expected," "this is the only way to keep order," "That's what teachers must do," etc.. They probably don't see any rationale for change. More information and the opportunity to observe and to analyze student responses to both negative and positive teacher behaviors would probably point out the need for change. Participative change strategies to accomplish movement toward more positive teacher behaviors would probably be effective.

Group 2B. These teachers are aware of their negative behaviors, not aware of their effects on students, and not willing to change. Awareness of the consequences of their behaviors, which might be brought about by increased knowledge might bring about a readiness to participate in change. Or, more coercive strategies might be necessary to bring about behavior change so that these teachers can then view the changed consequences (in the form of changed student behavior) for themselves.

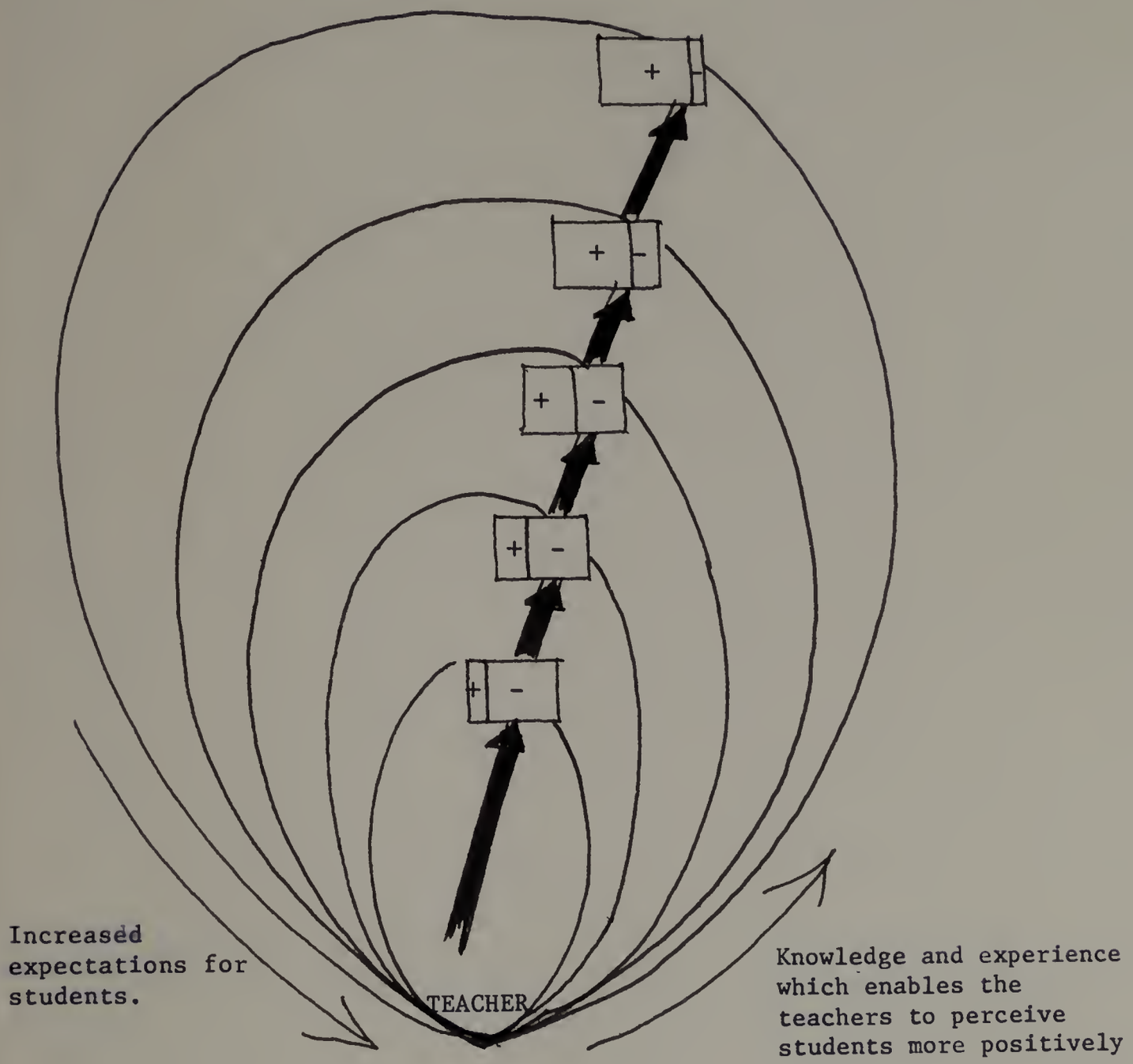
Group 3A. For those teachers who are not aware of their negative behaviors, but are aware of the possible consequences of negative behaviors, and willing to change, the administrator's task would be to aid a teacher in viewing his own behavior. He could provide tools to the teacher for self-observation, and may further assist the teacher in developing his own strategies for changing from negative to more positive teacher behaviors.

Group 3B. In the case of teachers who are not aware of their negative behaviors, but aware of the consequences of negative behaviors and not willing to change, unwillingness to change is probably the result of not seeing anything in their behavior which needs to be changed. Willingness to change might be increased if the teacher were given information about his actual classroom behavior. Were the information given, and the teacher still reluctant to change, more coercive methods might be employed to effect change.

Group 4A. These teachers are not aware of their negative behaviors, not aware of the consequences of these behaviors, and yet willing to change. Change could probably be effected through increased teacher awareness as well as guidance from the administrator in establishing a direction and a means for change.

Group 4B. For teachers who are not aware of their behaviors (negative behaviors) and not aware of the consequences of these behaviors, unwillingness to change is not surprising. Again, awareness might help to bring about willingness, but, more likely, a teacher at this very low level of awareness would need guidance and direction in moving step by step toward increased awareness.

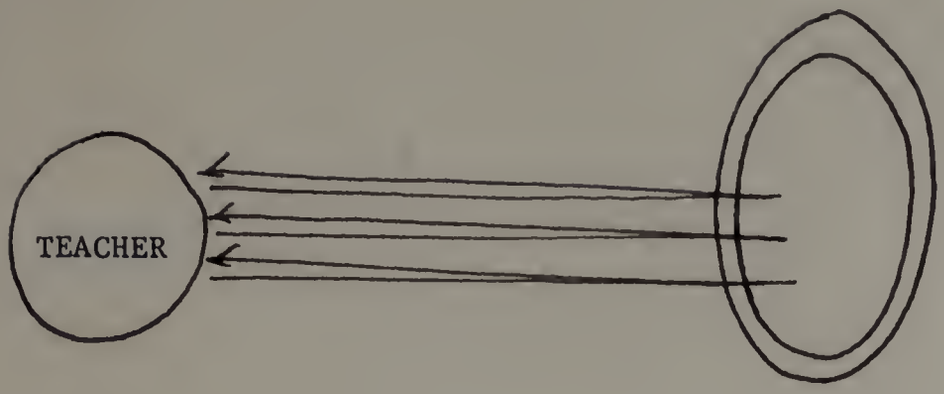
Model V: Positive Perceptions and Increased Expectations (Figure 22).



The assumptions of this writer regarding students -- urban, minority group students in particular -- are essentially Theory Y assumptions: that students are worthwhile people, capable of success and unlimited growth. This writer, as a school administrator, assumes also that teachers who perceive students "accurately" as they are and can be, without biases and preconceived beliefs, will have or will develop positive perceptions of students. According to the preceding model, any experience which the teacher has that enables him to perceive students more "accurately" or to see students acting in new ways will eventually have the effect of increasing to some degree the teacher's positive perceptions of students and concomitantly, increasing the teacher's expectations for students. Taken in small steps, initially, the increases in positive perceptions as well as the increases in expectations proceed to magnify in spiral fashion, as illustrated. In the case of this dissertation, the experiences of interest are those provided in some way by the administrator for the teacher -- those experiences over which the administrator can have some influence. The following strategies for providing the experiences relate to increasing teachers' positive perceptions of students.

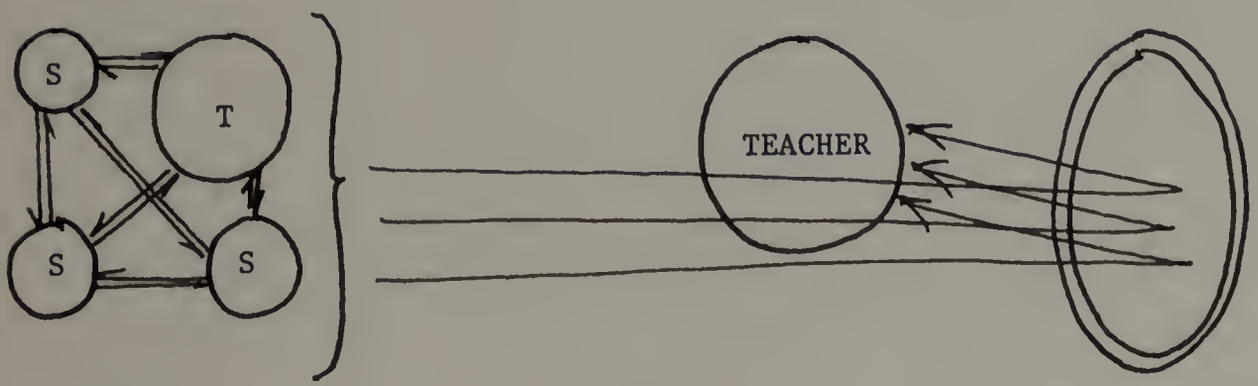
Holding up a mirror for the teacher. The "mirror" is provided by a video-tape recording, by interaction analysis or through clinical observation strategies. In each case, an observer or observers record the teacher's behavior and then report the data, without interpretation, judgment, etc. to the teacher.

Figure 23. Holding up a mirror to the teacher.



Similarly, the mirror held up to the teacher who is interacting with his class enables the reporting of student behavior and responses to teacher behavior. (Provided by interaction analysis, two video-tape recorders, etc..)

Figure 24. Holding up a mirror to the teacher and his students.

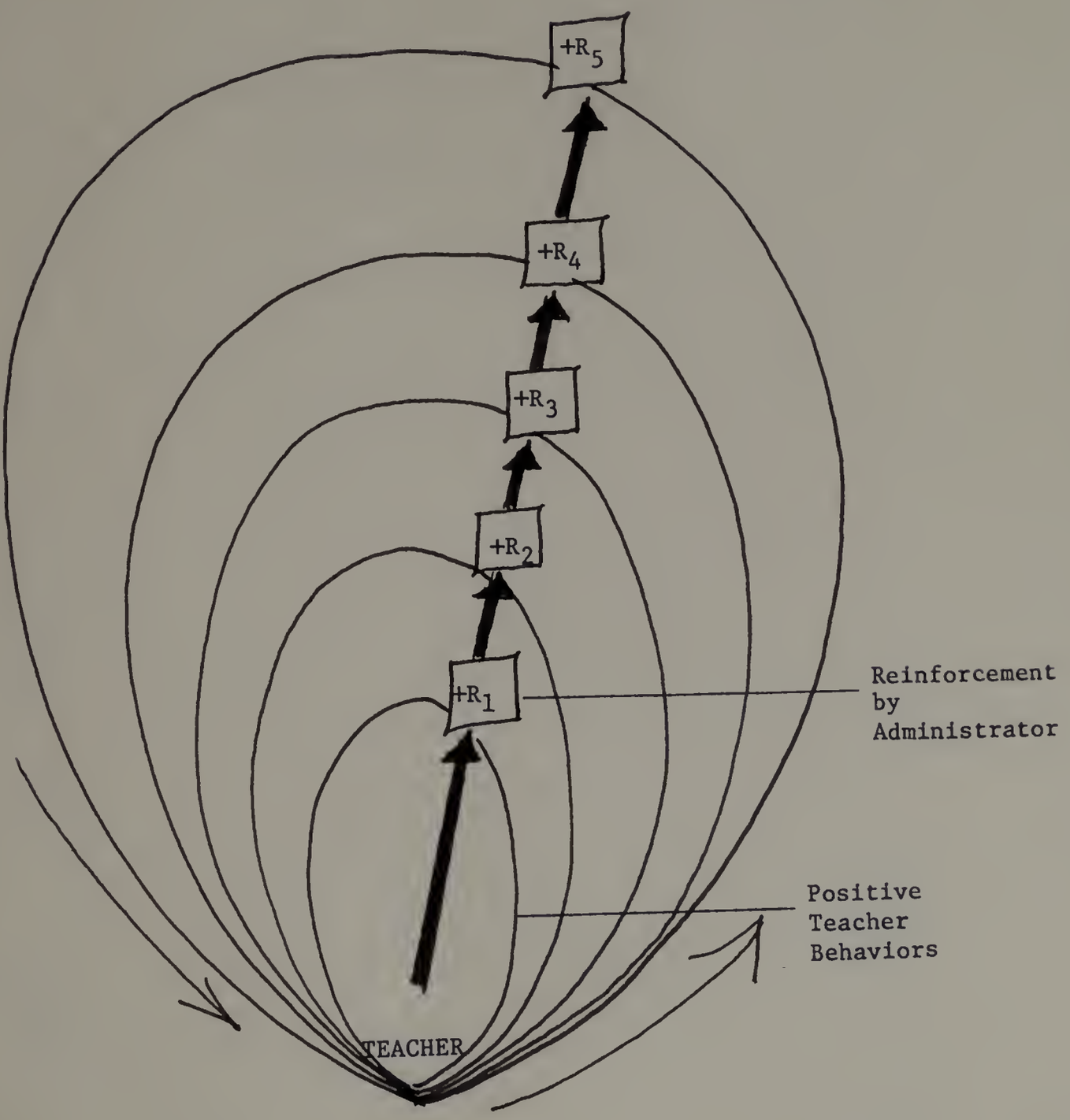


The teacher is presented with information about his behavior and about student responses to it. For teachers who are committed to the goal of helping students to become independent, autonomous people, receiving this information, as well as receiving some guidance in interpreting and analyzing the information, may be all the data necessary for these teachers to plan to make changes in

their behaviors. For other teachers who are not committed to these goals and not able to direct their own change, this model at least points out specific behaviors which can be changed if direction is provided. And further, continued use of this strategy for all teachers can always reinforce instances of positive behaviors and suggest directions for change. In each of these "mirrors" teachers are given information which can be discussed and analyzed with their peers or with people from outside the school administrative hierarchy. These interactions are not threatening ones -- they resemble more "helping relationships."

The provision of feedback by an administrator. This interaction is of a different nature than those mentioned above. The teacher recognizes the position power of the administrator. Administrator feedback to teachers regarding negative teacher behavior has a threatening quality, and may create considerable unrest, particularly in teachers for whom job certainty, and the approval, esteem and recognition of the administrator are important. On the other extreme, administrator feedback regarding positive behaviors takes on a quality of positive sanctions and rewards. It would be unlikely, unless the teacher were mature, and consistently able to deal at the Adult level, that feedback from the administrator, though offered "objectively," would not be value-laden as perceived by the teacher. For teachers for whom positive administrator sanctions are rewarding, this model for "reinforcement of successive approximations of desired behavior" applies. (See Model VI.)

Model VI: Reinforcement of Successive Approximations of Desired Behavior (Figure 25).



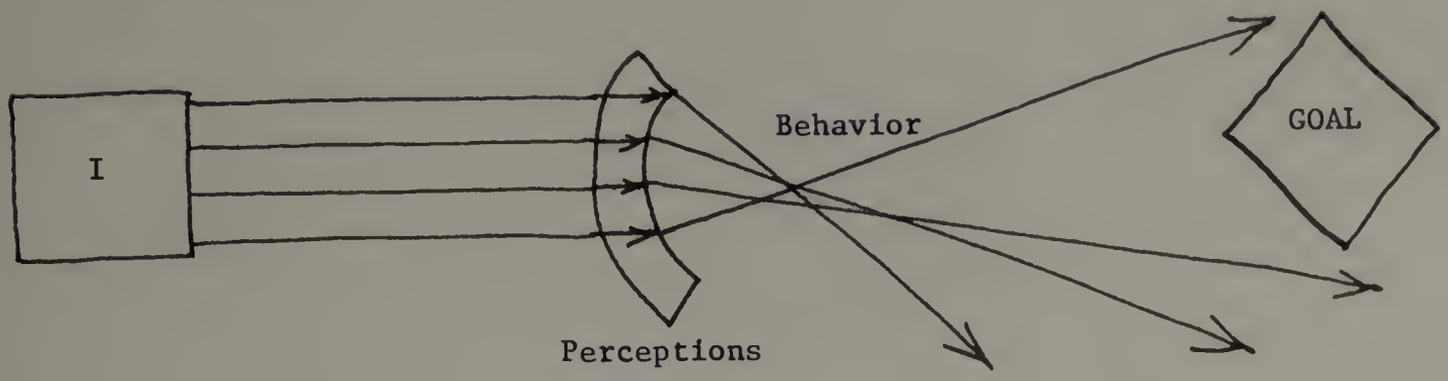
At the same time as positive teacher behaviors are reinforced, negative teacher behaviors are not reinforced. The negative behaviors are extinguished through the lack of positive reinforcement.

In the case of Model V: Positive Perceptions and Increased Expectations, those experiences provided by the administrator which enable teachers to see students acting responsibly and to consequently increase their positive perceptions of students may simply be occasions where the teachers have the opportunity to see students acting differently, and in a different situation.

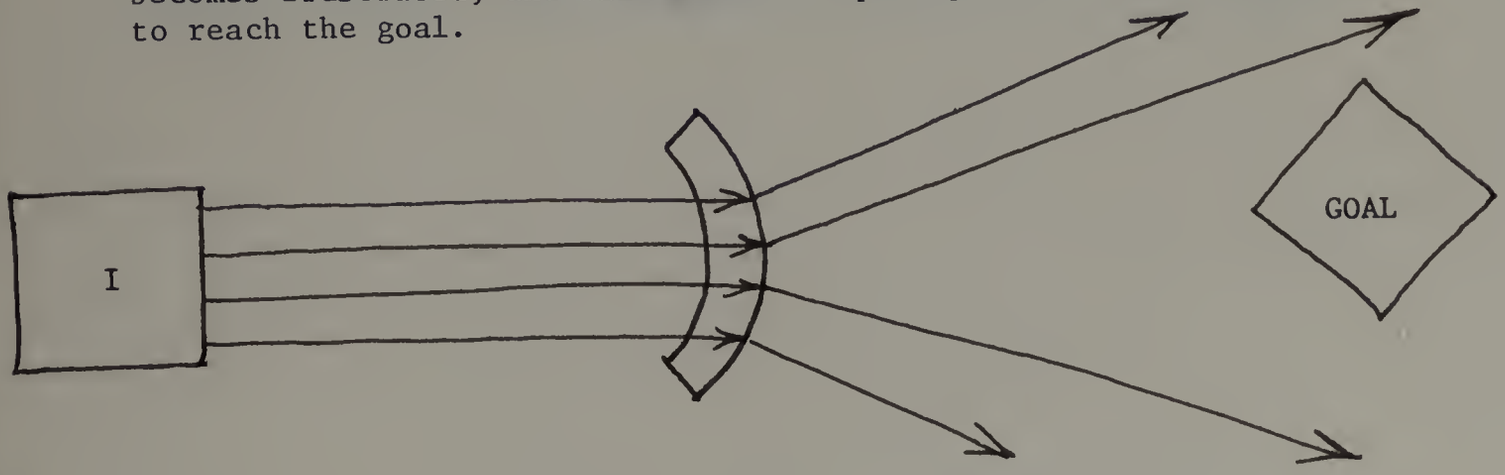
Furthermore, a teacher may be able to observe students behaving differently in response to behavior which is different from the behavior that the teacher uses in his own classroom. In this case, the mature teacher may consciously choose to change his behavior in a positive direction because of the positive consequences that he observes, or, less mature people may change their behavior in a more positive direction as a consequence of identification with persons whom they admire and respect, and who utilize positive behaviors effectively.

Model VII: Perceptions and Goal Attainment (Figure 26).

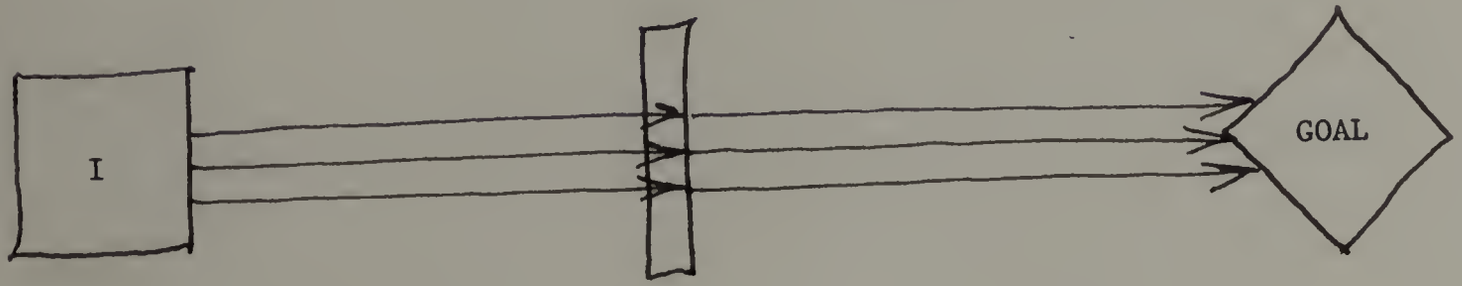
In this model, the individual (I) wants to accomplish a specific goal. His behavior toward accomplishing that goal is directed largely by his perceptions -- the window through which he views the world.



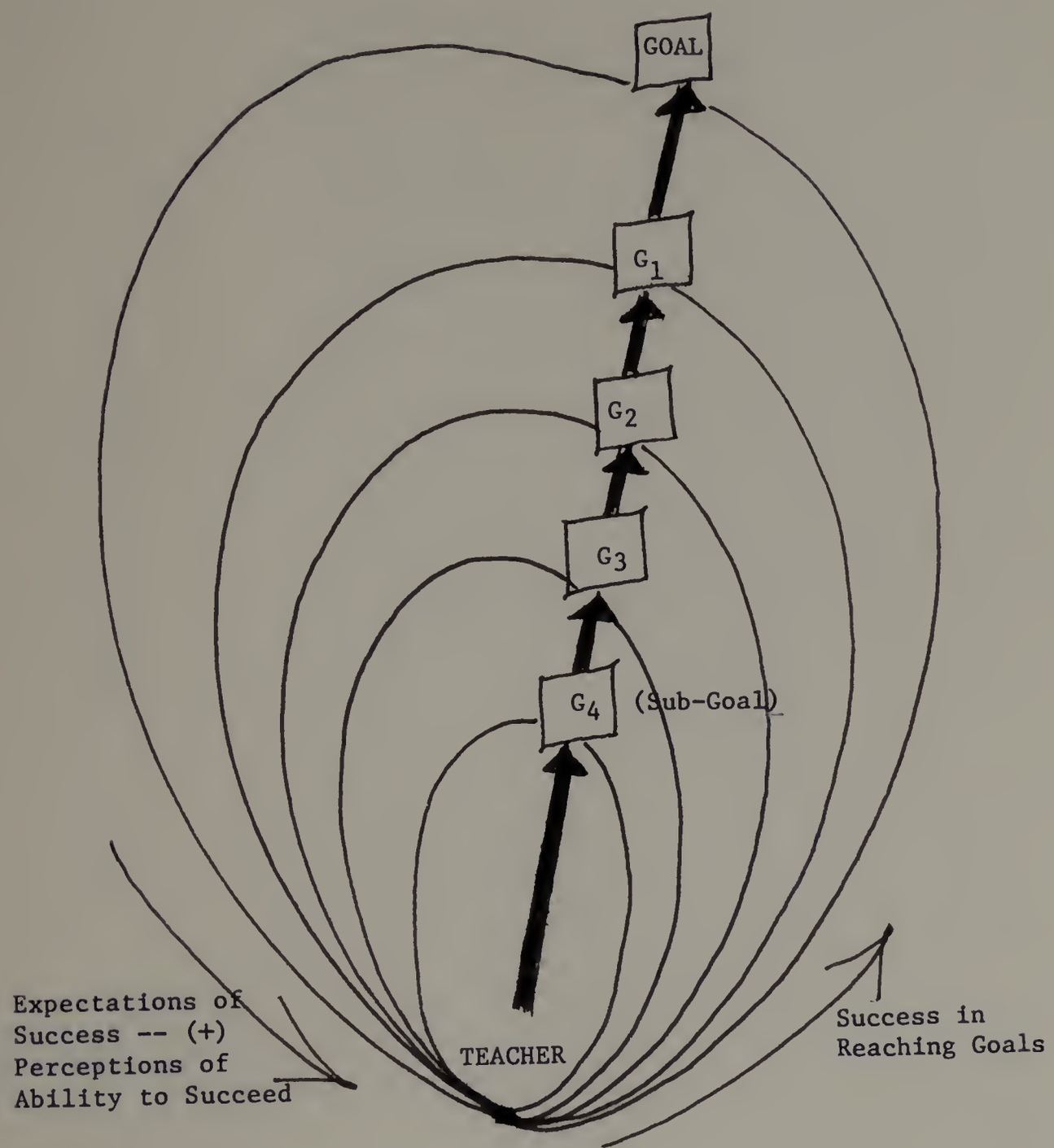
After unsuccessful attempts to reach that goal, the individual becomes frustrated, and will alter his perceptions in his attempts to reach the goal.



And so on, until he finds perceptions that will work for him.

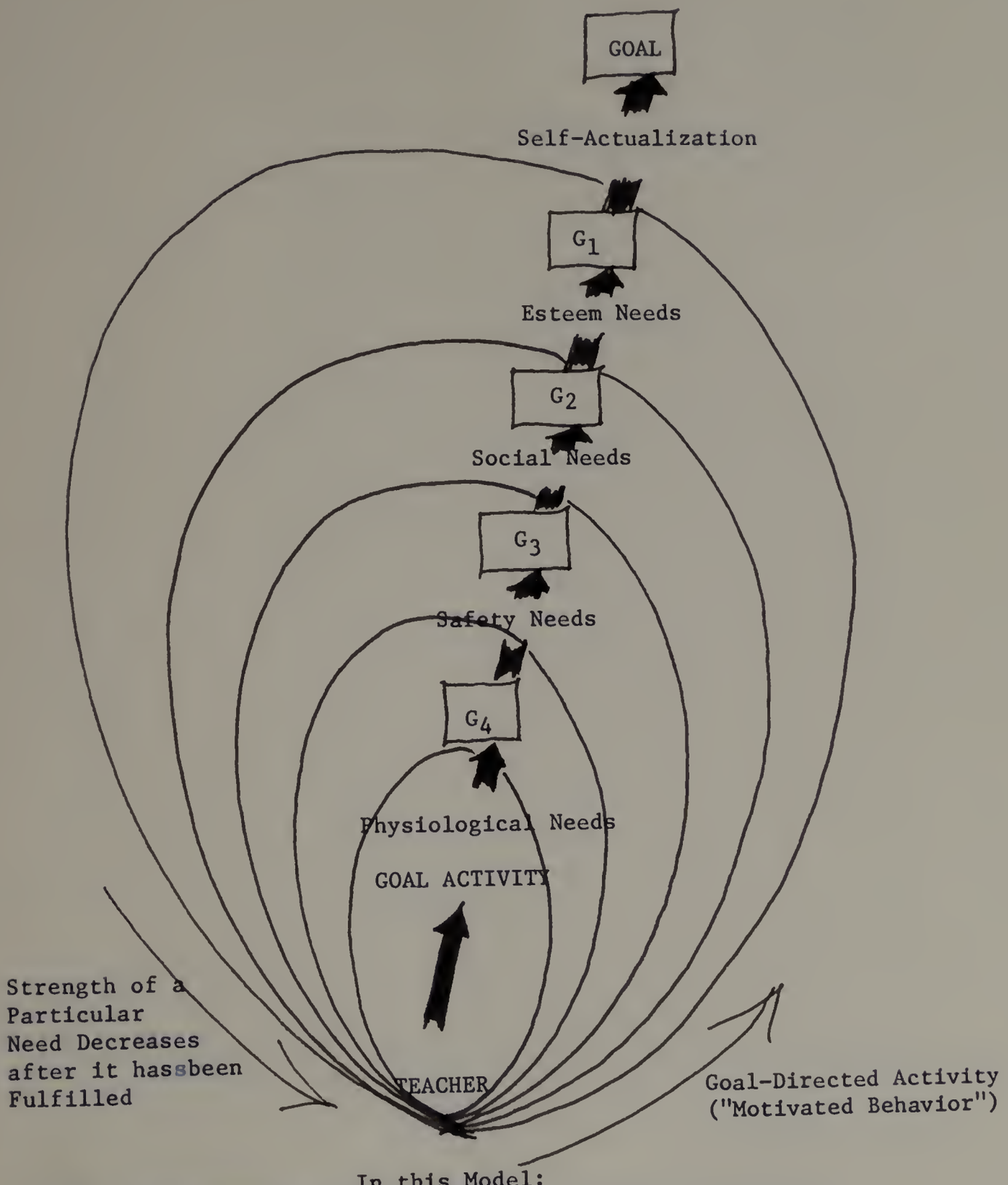


Model VIII: Expectations and Success in Reaching Goals (Figure 27).



In the context of a school organization, the administrator sets broad educational goals. Then, in order to accomplish these goals while working with and through teachers, the teachers must accept these goals as ones to which they are committed, and hence, as ones toward which their behavior is directed. If these goals are very remote, teachers may feel that they cannot possibly accomplish them; the goals may seem unattainable. Accepting the goals and failing to reach them may seem such a painful prospect to teachers that they take the "safe" course of not accepting the goals at all. Very mature teachers and teacher groups can chart courses for themselves by setting interim goals and objectives. They can set sub-goals which they feel are within their capabilities and resources to achieve -- step by step -- in attaining the primary goal. For less mature individuals and groups the administrator might define sub-goals that can be accomplished with reasonable effort in a relatively short time. Accomplishment of a sub-goal builds self-esteem and increases positive perceptions of the individual's own capabilities and ability to succeed, enabling the individual to strive for the attainment of "higher" goals -- finally arriving at behavior directed toward the accomplishment of the primary goal. (See Model VIII.)

Model IX: Expectations, Success in Reaching Goals, and Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (Figure 28).

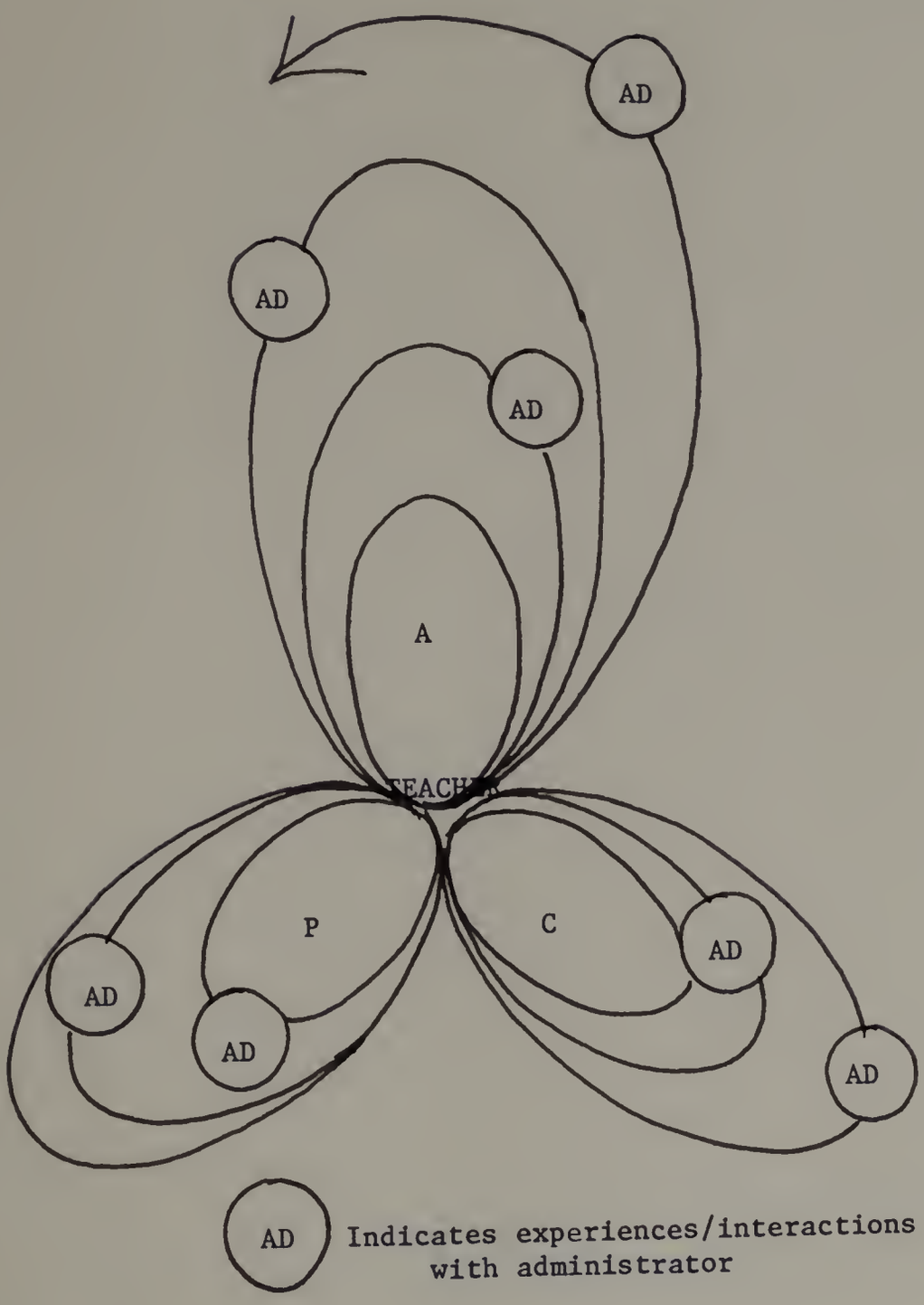


In this Model:
GOAL ACTIVITY=NEED SATISFACTION=GOAL (SUB-GOAL) ATTAINMENT

Motives direct behavior toward the satisfaction of needs. As per Maslow's hierarchy, the emergence of one need as a motivator rests on the prior satisfaction of lower needs. If the administrator can set up situations which make the satisfaction of individual needs dependent on the achievement of organizational goals, then teacher behavior toward satisfying those needs in school will coincide with the behavior which serves to accomplish school goals. This model (IX) can also be viewed from another administrative point of view. If the administrator accepts, as this writer does, that the primary goal for education is assisting students to develop into autonomous, independent beings who are able to cope with the world and who have the knowledge and skills useful for developing their potentialities, then many of the ideas reviewed in this paper indicate that those teachers best able to accomplish that goal would be mature, self-actualizing teachers. Administrators may adopt the strategy -- though its complete implementation would be time-consuming -- that if the administrator can assist teachers in satisfying their needs for safety, affiliation and esteem in the school setting, and can build an environment which makes this possible, then teachers can be "freed" to pursue self-actualization and thus enabled to assist their students in growing toward self-actualization.

A further extension of this model would be this: the experiences associated with the attainment of sub-goals enable teachers to see students behaving in ways that they had not previously observed. Assuming that this data will enhance and reinforce teachers' positive perceptions of students, then the cycle repeats, and teachers' perceptions of students become progressively more positive.

Model X: Teacher-Administrator Interactions and the Parent, Child, and Adult (Figure 29).



The worlds of the Parent (P) and Child (C) are circumscribed. The individual who interacts with others from these spheres is limited within the boundaries of the data available in the Parent and Child. This is true, necessarily, of teachers' interactions with administrators. Where the administrator - teacher transactions occur solely in these spheres, the interactions are circumscribed, and cannot lead to growth beyond the boundaries of the teacher's emotional and authoritarian structures (Parent and Child). Adult administrator interactions with teachers are of a different nature. In these interactions, choice, decisions and unbiased perceptions are possible on the part of the teacher, as is growth. When this model is superimposed on Model IX, the boundaries of the Parent and Child in this diagram do not extend beyond the level of <u>safety</u>. The Parent and Child are safe positions. Other motivators beyond the safety level have meaning only for the Adult.

Model XI: Force Field Analysis Model for the Change Process

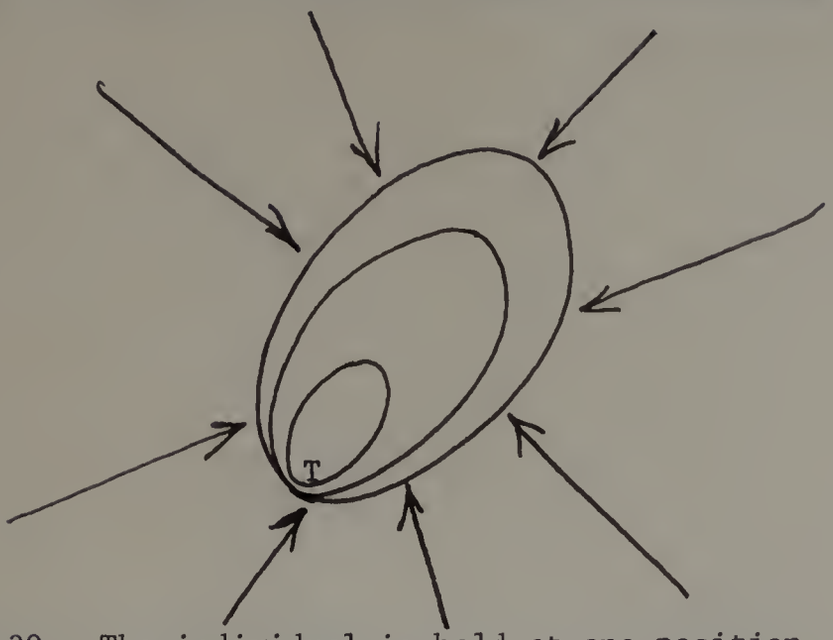


Figure 30. The individual is held at one position -- in equilibrium -- by a balance of forces. Little growth takes place, and there is no movement toward goals set by the administrator.

Figure 31. The administrator, or the administrator and the teacher, identify the direction and the nature of the change desired. In this case, the point to which the administrator would like the teacher to move is that of positive perceptions of students. In the case of a mature teacher, that teacher himself might be able to define a goal and direction for change.

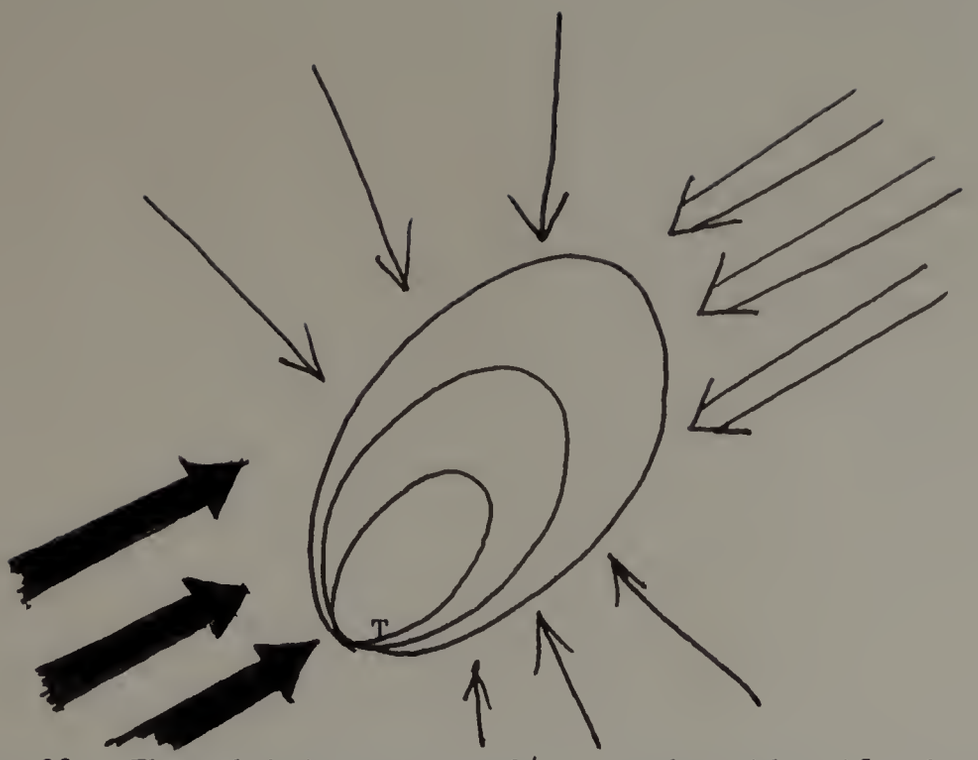


Figure 32. The administrator and/or teacher identify the restraining forces which act to keep the teacher from moving in the direction of desired change (⟸) and the driving forces tending to move the teacher in the direction of desired change (➡).

Figure 33. Unfreezing is brought about by an imbalance of the forces keeping the individual at equilibrium -- removing or decreasing many of those forces. The individual is "free" to move.

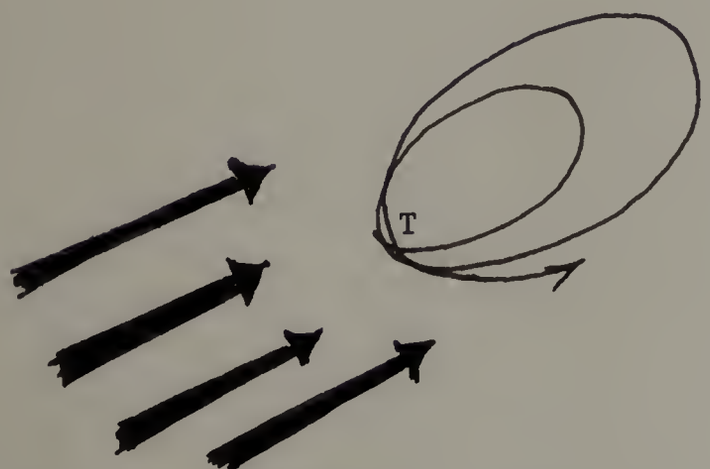
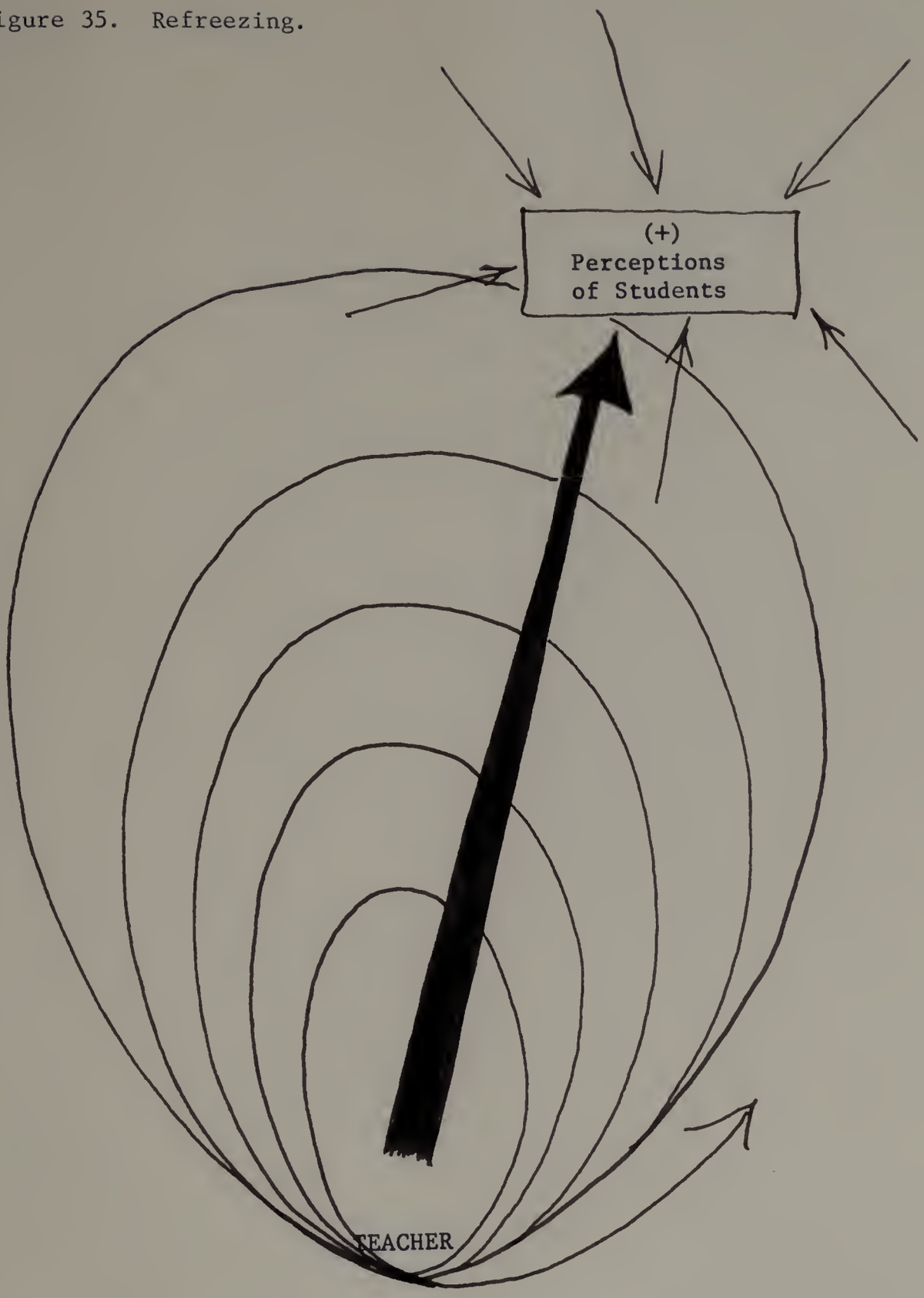


Figure 34. To expedite change in the direction desired, the administrator acts to remove or decrease the restraining forces and to increase the driving forces.

Figure 35. Refreezing.



Movement has taken place so that the individual -- the teacher -- has moved from his initial point of equilibrium, in the desired direction, to the point of desired change. Coincidental with this movement, growth in other directions has also taken place -- the teacher's world has expanded. The objective of the refreezing step would not be to stop growth and expansion in other directions, but would be to balance the forces acting on the teacher to keep him in equilibrium at the point of desired change -- positive perceptions of students -- so that this change is maintained even as further movement takes place in other directions. (Figure 35.)

CHAPTER IV

IMPLICATIONS

The foregoing models seem to have certain implications for school administrators in the various dimensions of the tasks in which they are involved. If the school building principal is taken as a focus, there are many roles which must be considered in devising specific strategies for assisting teachers to change their perceptions of students. While the roles in this Chapter are identified with the principal for purposes of discussion, they may equally apply to the tasks of school superintendents, directors of instruction, curriculum, staff development etc.. This discussion is by no means meant to be an exhaustive listing pf administrative functions but rather to be illustrative of ways in which the models presented in Chapter III can be applied to the job of the school administrator.

Staff Development and Supervision

This writer accepts as the goal of both staff development and supervision activities the improvement of instruction. In terms of this dissertation, improvement of instruction is a product of increasingly positive perceptions of students on the part of teachers. Very often the tasks of both supervision and staff development entail the provision of relevant information to the teacher -- including information about the teacher's behavior in the classroom. One way in which this information about his own behavior can be conveyed to the teacher is for the administrator to hold up or to

provide for the holding up of the "mirror" in which the teacher can view himself. The distinction is made here between the administrator holding up the mirror himself, and the administrator's providing opportunities for the teacher to view himself in a "mirror." Where the administrator provides information to teachers about the things that they do in their classrooms, that information is most often viewed by the teachers not simply in terms of its objective content, but intterms of the positive and negative sanctions that go along with a communication from the administrator. Where the administrator arranges for another teacher, or for someone else not directly a part of the school administrative hierarchy, to provide information, that information is more likely to be accepted and interpreted by the teacher at face value.

The holding up of a "mirror" may be seen as the provision of accurate feedback regarding the teacher's behavior. Feedback, if it is to be helpful, typically has the following characteristics: a) it is descriptive; b) it speaks to behaviors that the teacher can do something about; c) it is non-evaluative; d) it is given immediately -- as soon as practical after the behavior occurs. In general, feedback can be verbal, verbal/analytical (interaction analysis summaries, etc.) and/or presented through a mechanical medium such as video or audio-tape. The administrator, as staff developer and/or supervisor, must bear in mind that, as with viewing all experiences, the teacher will be selective in the data that he notices and interprets, as well as selective in his interpretations. One of the screens through which the teacher will be selecting and interpreting

data will be his own self-perceptions. Another will be his perceptions of his students. He will tend to select and interpret information which will support his already existing perceptions of himself and of his students. Given, then, that the feedback which the administrator makes available to the teacher is reasonably accurate, the administrator is not, however, able to assume that the teacher shares his interpretations of the data. He must, therefore, devise strategies for getting the teacher to admit for consideration that information which may be inconsistent with his perceptions of himself and of his students. The use of questions, pointing out specific behaviors that the teacher does not "see" can be a useful technique. Focusing on student rather than on teacher behavior -- the number of questions asked by students, the number and identification of students responding, the levels of student responses, the number and identification of students not responding and so on -- may be a way to draw attention, indirectly at first, to teacher behavior.

This brief analysis relates to the categorization of teachers (Models IV-A and IV-B) with respect to how they handle information about themselves. The administrator can relate his strategies to this characterization in several different ways. He can provide feedback to all teachers about their behavior. This may be a way of gaining information about the positions of teachers in the categorization. Teachers who react to this information by initiating changes in their own behavior may form one group. Another group may be composed of teachers who, even they are given the data, act like

people who have gotten no information because their perceptions do not allow them to accept it.

Of immediate concern to the administrator regarding the utilization of these feedback models must be some response to the question of what is the source of competent observers to provide the feedback, and of capable "helpers" to aid teachers in interpreting that feedback? Some possibilities might be: local school system staff development officers, college and university graduate students and staff, education consulting services in the area, or, ideally, some teachers on the school faculty who have been given the training and experience necessary to interact with other teachers, during the school day, in providing and analyzing feedback. Also implied in the selection of one or more of these feedback models for use is a commitment by the administrator to provide school time for the provision and analysis of feedback by teachers.

Beyond the function of providing teachers with information about themselves (their behavior as teachers) and about their students, staff development and supervision activities must provide for the knowledge and planning of how change can occur when the teacher recognizes a need for change. Those teachers who need guidance for planning change may receive that guidance in a variety of forms. Focusing on two or three particular behaviors as areas for change may pose an achievable objective for teachers. Continued feedback during this process may provide the information and possibly the positive reinforcement (just <u>seeing</u> himself using

positive behaviors effectively might be rewarding to the teacher) needed by the teacher for continued effort directed toward particular changes. And, at the same time, the teacher may be able to see his students responding positively to his "new" behaviors (feedback in this area might be helpful, too) and may begin to modify his perceptions of those students in a positive direction, thus facilitating further changes in behavior and changes in perception, and so on. Where the staff developer can "step out" of the process and leave the giving and analysis of feedback to the teacher and his colleagues (who, after all, are together in school all day long, day after day) the teachers may begin acting more autonomously and assuming greatly increased responsibility for their own teaching.

Another way of providing guidance and of assisting teachers through the change process is that of providing opportunities for teachers to observe other teachers -- in their own school or elsewhere -- who do demonstrate positive perceptions of students in their classroom interactions. There are many possible consequences of these observations, among them: the teacher might notice some teacher behaviors or strategies which he might like to "try out" himself; he may, as a product of seeing students differently, revise to some extent his perceptions of and expectations for his own students; he may use a teacher whom he admires and respects as a model for his own behavior; or, he simply may see that a new way (or other ways) of behaving in the classroom "work." Provision for these

observations requires a commitment on the part of the administrator for offering and possibly even scheduling the opportunities, and for, when necessary, providing substitute teachers to cover for the teachers during the school day. The administrator may choose to use school system "in-service" or "staff development" days for the purpose of arranging for teachers to visit schools and classrooms in other districts. Again, the extent to which teachers participate in these plans indicates the extent to which they may in the future become more autonomous and responsible teachers.

The area of "supervision of instruction" in the context of this analysis includes observations and ratings of teachers by the administrative staff. In the cases of these interactions a form of feedback is provided to the teacher regarding the teacher's perceptions of and behaviors toward students -- if the administrators use observations and rating scales to speak to this point. This particular "feedback" differs from the feedback described earlier in that, by virtue of the position power of the administrator, it takes on a judgmental quality for the teacher. The summary rating of a teacher -- as satisfactory, conditional or unsatisfactory for example -- is necessarily judgmental. Teachers tend to view observations and conferences with administrators prior to that summary evaluation in the same light. Teacher - administrator interactions can, consequently, be used -- or misused -- by administrators in "coercing" change in the teacher's classroom behavior. The administrator has at his disposal a large repertoire of motivational devices, positive and negative rewards

and punishments and sanctions. Two points may be especially helpful in guiding the administrator in this area. Should the administrator adopt a model where reinforcement theory is used to change behavior, any such reinforcement offered in school must be offered relatively consistently and immediately in order to be effective. That is, a pat on the back by the administrator once a semester may have little value in terms of reinforcement theory. Additionally, coerced change rests on the continued use of position power by the administrator. Should the administrator aspire to accomplish more internalized and durable changes, he must take steps to move the teacher from the position where changes in his behavior are a product of administrator coercion, to a point where the teacher assumes at least some responsibility for change. One of the redeeming features of coerced change in the area of increasing teacher positive perceptions of students is that positive changes in teacher behaviors (often coerced) frequently result in changes in student behavior which in turn result in increased positive perceptions of students by teachers. In time, these positive perceptions become guiding forces in teachers behavior.

Curriculum Development

The school administrator bears the ultimate responsibility for the development of curriculum as it affects the teachers and students with whom he works, and the community that those students come from. Specifically, these responsibilities entail: provision

of books, equipment and materials; provision of curriculum guides; provision for the setting of course objectives and expectations for student performance; provision of a curriculum which meets the needs of the students and the community and which is "personalized" to the extent that each student can make progress; provision for curriculum evaluation and revision, and finally provision for the evaluation of student progress. The courses which an administrator adopts with regard to curriculum development may speak directly to the issue of increasing teachers' positive perceptions of students. The introduction of a new curriculum or of new curriculum strategies and methods may, for example, expose teachers to students acting in different ways in classrooms -- ways in which teachers may not have expected the students to be able to act. Were one teacher to use a new curriculum or approach in his classroom, other teachers could observe new teaching behaviors and new student behaviors. The task of the administrator is to introduce teachers to a variety of curricula and practices which provide experiences which allow students to succeed and which, consequently, allow teachers to see students who are sucessful. There are many possible examples. Elementary science programs which provide opportunities for studnets to investigate and to manipulate materials in the classroom often elicit the following, among many, student behaviors: heightened interest and enthusiasm, increased cooperation and willingness to pursue tasks, success at accomplishing tasks using the materials, development of skills such as observation,

inference and prediction. Teachers who use these programs may as a consequence revise their perceptions of students in general, and especially of particular students, in a positive direction. Positive perceptions and increased expectations on the part of the teacher might carry-over into other aspects of the school day. Silberman cites the example of "opening-up" classrooms as a means of changing teacher perceptions of students.[1] Teachers who are coerced to some degree in adopting more "open" strategies in their classrooms, such as less focus on the teacher, more variety in student activities and opportunities for students to make choices, flexible groupings, personalized assignments and so on often see students acting in more responsible and independent ways -- and succeeding more often. High school teachers who make independent study options available to students may often be surprised to see students assuming responsibility for their own learning. Or, a history teacher who incorporates greater use of audio-visual materials into his classroom program may see some students succeeding in history when they had previously failed when the textbook was the only source of information available.

A very important dimension in the process of curriculum development is that of setting course objectives and expectations for student performance and achievement. Where there are no clearly stated expectations for students in a course, neither the students nor the teacher can have a realistic view of what satisfactory

---

[1]Charles Silberman, Crisis in the Classroom (New York: Random House, 1970).

completion of the course means. Teacher biases and prejudices may remain relatively unchecked, and coursework may proceed without any real direction. On the other hand, when expectations are stated, teachers and students have goals to work toward and have some means of knowing whether and when the goals are reached. Clearly, then, there are some things that a student can do to be successful, and both students and teachers have a chance to see students succeeding. It is the very difficult task of the school administrator to guide teachers in setting these objectives in order to arrive at expectations that: 1) speak to the needs of the students and the community and 2) are not so high as to be unrealistic but are high enough so as to lead to student growth, teacher effort and increased positive perceptions on the part of teachers and on the part of the students themselves.

The area of "grading" students merits some consideration in this context. Once curriculum expectations have been set forth, the determination must be made as to what degree of accomplishment of the objectives warrants what grade. The grading system can be one which provides feedback to students and which aids students in assessing their own development and in planning for their own growth, or the grading system can be one which perpetuates the "failure syndrome." This writer, in his capacity as a school administrator, encountered a situation where a departmental grading policy was such that (as a result of mathematical manipulations) a student who fails a course during the first quarter, or any quarter

of the school year, has no possibility, mathematically, of passing the course for the entire year. There is little in that system that allows for student growth. The message delivered to the students is clear: "If you ever fail, then you are a failure." The teachers' perceptions of students are similarly influenced; once a teacher sees a student fail, his prospects of ever seeing that student succeed are very limited. As in the area of setting objectives, administrator intervention in the area of grading policy may be necessary. The end which the administrator must keep in mind is that of providing situations and circumstances where students can have opportunities for academic success, and in which academic achievement can be enhanced. These situations can lead to the development of more positive perceptions of students on the part of teachers.

Community Relations

The administrator represents the school in the community. Of particular relevance to the topic of this dissertation is a consideration of the influences which the administrator can bring to bear on teachers' positive perceptions of students through the community. Parent and community expectations for the students are the bases for these influences. Parents basically are eager to believe that their children <u>can</u> succeed. Despite the negative messages and influences conveyed by the larger society, parents are willing to believe that school can be a place that is different from

the rest of the world. The "hope factor" operates here: parents, as well as the community as a whole, want to believe that there is hope, that their youngsters can succeed in school, and that school can give their youngsters tools which will make it possible for them to succeed after school, in the world. If the school administrator is willing to put himself out on a limb and say to parents: "Your children can succeed in school," then the parents have a clear stake in what happens to their children in school. They come to expect increased academic achievement by their children, and they can bring pressures to bear upon the schools and the teachers as a product of those expectations. If parents see that their children are not succeeding as they believe they can, then they ask the teachers: "why not?" The parents and community will not be satisfied with a pattern of repeated failure and low achievement. The same expectations held by community colleges and employers can have the same consequences. If an employer believes that the youngsters in his community are potentially employable, but do not have the skills necessary to be hired, he can ask the school: "why not?" There are employers who believe this in every community; the school administrator can help to give these employers some voice and influence by opening channels of communication among employers, parents, teachers and students. College personnel who feel that they are not getting enough qualified applicants from among the students in the community can make this known through the school administrator.

In any case, parents and other community representatives can have influence on teachers and on what goes on in classrooms if the school administrator provides the means of involving them in school activities and plans. The most important factors in this process are the positive expectations of the community for the students -- and the opportunities for these expectations to be communicated to teachers. Teachers feel some pressure to make whatever changes they can which may enable students to succeed and which may result in higher student achievement.

One model for establishing communication is the PACTS plan.[2] PACTS committees, made up of representatives of parents, administrators, the community, teachers and students may function in a variety of ways at the school level, particularly in the areas of: curriculum, course offerings, preparation for college and for jobs, guidance and counseling services, discipline, extra-curricular activities and employment of teachers. Where a PACTS committee is involved in planning or in problem-solving any one of the five groups represented on the committee has veto power -- in other words, the group operates on a forced consensus basis. As an example of the relationships of PACTS committees to school functioning, this writer has had experiences with PACTS committees established for the following purposes: 1) to resolve a conflict among teachers, administrators and the community of the school regarding the forced transfer of an assistant princiapl from the school; 2) to establish

---

[2]Introduced by this name by Superintendent Barbara Sizemore to the District of Columbia Public Schools, 1973.

a code of expected behavior for high school students, as well as a means of dealing with infractions. The administrator's utilization of these or of similar committees increases greatly the channels of communication between school and community.

Administrators can take other steps to open up communications. Parents and the community must be kept informed of school affairs -- through newsletters, newspapers, personal communications, meetings, and radio and television. The presence of the school administrator or his representative at community activities not directly related to the school also encourages communication. The administrator can also bring about more communication between parents and teachers by providing for relatively frequent parent-teacher conferences and/or meetings. In this way, parent expectations can be communicated to teachers, who may in turn feel some responsibility for taking steps to assist their students in meeting those expectations.

The School Environment

Probably the most obvious responsibility of the school building principal is that of maintaining an organization and an environment where things happen that make it possible for teachers to teach and for students to learn. Some examples of the very many tasks encompassed by that responsibility are: keeping attendance records and maintaining a relatively high rate of attendance, orderly movement of students in halls and in and out of the building,

"order" -- in halls, cafeteria and even in classrooms, discipline codes and a system for dealing with infractions, communicating expectations and requirements to teachers and students, maintaining teacher and student records, school governance and so on. One way of relating these diverse areas to the main dissertation concern of what administrators can do to aid teachers in developing more positive perceptions of their urban, minority group students is to consider the school organization as an entity with characteristics of its own; the school organization is, after all, something more than the sum of its components. A significant set of questions then is: what things does the school organization tell students about themselves, and what things does the school organization tell teachers about their students? Or even more specifically, in what ways does the organization tell teachers and students that those students are failures, Not OK, worthless, etc. and in what ways can this message be changed from a negative one to a positive one? In what ways can the organization say to teachers and students: these students can be successful students, they can assume responsibility for their own lives, they can act responsibly in school, they can achieve just as any other students can, and they are worthy and respectable individuals?

For example, an administrator who assumes the position of principal in a school where relative chaos reigns -- attendance is sporadic (teacher as well as student attendance), students are as likely to be found in halls and outside the building as in

classrooms, teachers cannot necessarily be found in their classrooms, the building is vandalized and in disrepair, there are no rules and regulations which are consistently enforced, teachers and students treat each other with mutual disrespect or contempt, achievement is low, etc. -- can safely assume that teachers hold low expectations for and negative perceptions of students, and that these perceptions and expectations are continually reinforced. In such a situation a model for participatory, evolutionary change for restoring an environment where the goals of education can be reached has, initially, very little meaning. In such a situation, coerced change is more likely to be appropriate. This change would originate with the position power of the administrator and would be aimed directly at altering the behavior of teachers and students. Such a procedure would forego the time requirement of first changing knowledge and attitudes which normally are prerequisites for more permanent behavior changes.

The "coerced" change is likely to be accepted by students and teachers alike simply on the grounds that they expect change to accompany a new administrator. It is also likely that teachers and students would welcome changes which may result in their mutual well-being and comfort in the school. The latter is basically a Theory Y assumption -- that people would like to change given the opportunity and the environment for change. In terms of Life Cycle theory, the group of teachers and students as a whole can be characterized as immature. The leadership behaviors associated

with coerced change -- directiveness, task orientation, low relationships behavior -- would probably be the most effective strategies for effecting change. Possible approaches to coercive change may be somewhat as follows: the administrator could engineer the development, communication and implementation of a set of rules and regulations regarding teacher and student involvment during the school day, and could provide for the use of positive or negative administrator sanctions -- penalties such as suspension, or a conference with parents for students and a threat of lowered ratings for teachers -- as ways of enforcing those rules and regulations. With respect to the latter point, teacher contracts mitigate to some extent against coercive change, but when the administrator takes the time to examine the contract to see what he can and cannot do, and what things can and cannot be required of teachers, he may find ways in which the contract can be used in conjunction with coercive change strategies. Visible and consistent enforcement of rules by the administrator enhances the effectiveness of such a program of change.

This example of coerced change has validity in terms of teacher perceptions of students in that when the administrator makes clear that students are to behave in responsible ways -- such as getting to class on time -- he is expressing his faith in the students' ability to behave in this way. Reasonable rules, when firmly and fairly enforced, are a necessary part of helping students to grow to the point where they become responsible enough to take advantage of opportunities offered to them in school.

The fair and consistent enforcement of reasonable rules means to students that someone does care about them; laxity most often is interpreted as lack of interest. When students behave in accordance with rules, they demonstrate to themselves and to teachers that responsibility and order can reasonably be expected of students. With administrator support, teacher enforcement of rules of promptness and order can further demonstrate to the teacher that high expectations are justified and can thus partially dispell his negative perceptions of students as by nature being disorderly, lazy and irresponsible. These increased teacher expectations bring about more positive student behaviors, which would be followed by increased teacher positive perceptions of students and increased expectations, moving away from the realm of discipline to other aspects of the school program.

In addition to the expectations for students that are implied in the administrator's setting of rules, the administrator can make explicit statements of faith. The administrator can say: "I believe that students can behave responsibly in schools", and then he can set rules to demonstrate that students <u>can</u> behave responsibly. This demonstrates one way in which an ineffective cycle can be broken. An ineffective cycle results in a downward spiral in which productivity (in terms of discipline, achievement etc.) decreases, teacher expectations decrease, production decreases further and so on. In breaking the ineffective cycle, the administrator, by virtue of his own positive perceptions of students (faith in their ability to perform at a normal level)

demonstrates for teachers that students can perform in positive ways and consequently, teacher perceptions and expectations become more positive, and "production" can increase.

Similarly, administrators can assist teachers in moving to the point where their expectations for students include the expectation that students will grow toward maturity, responsibility and self-actualization. Each successful experience that the administrator provides for students demonstrates the inadequacy of low expectations and of negative perceptions. Where the teacher can be supported by the administrator to the extent that the teacher carries with him the authority of the administrator, then teachers can elicit similar responses from students and can view the success of their own efforts.

Given that the point of initial chaos has been passed, the administrator must take steps to sustain movement in the direction of increased teacher positive perceptions of students, and increased expectations for student success. Maintaining a position of administrator directiveness and coercion indefinitely defeats the goal originally set for schools -- that of developing intelligent, responsible, relatively autonomous and mature people. The administrator can begin with an initial step away from complete authoritarian control by involving teachers, students and parents in making decisions about matters that affect them. This might involve a review of the rules which initially established order -- making additions, deletions and amendments as deemed appropriate by a group of students, teachers, parents, and

administrators. Where each group on this committee has veto power, rights of all are insured and meaningful interactions must take place. This means that, as an example, the students could not be completely overridden by a coalition of adults.

Another way in which the administrator can provide examples of his positive perceptions of students for teachers is by the way he interacts with students, both formally and informally. This may well include things like: the way in which the administrator greets students in the halls, the way he gains students' attention, etc. High school students today tend to think of themselves as young adults and resent being put in the category of children. The positive examples which administrators can provide for teachers would be those in which salutations, comments and directives show respect for the student as an almost adult human being. Additionally, this treatment of students is likely to elicit mature behavior from them. Willingness to discuss issues openly with students demonstrates that the administrator is willing to listen to other points of view and to modify his own behaviors in the light of a convincing argument. This also provides incentives for the students to act at a mature level. Formally, the administrator may say to students repeatedly: you are OK; I believe in your dignity and worth, and I believe that you will succeed.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

This writer's own experiences as a minority group student and as a school teacher and administrator have led him to develop a point of view that relates the negative, self-defeating perceptions that many minority group students have of themselves to the many instances and examples of below average achievement of minority group students. The possible sources of these negative self-perceptions are many, but can be primarily seen as the product of a childhood lived in a society where minority group members are regarded and portrayed negatively by that society and its institutions. The school, as one of those institutions, can easily reinforce and extend the message sent to minority group students by the larger society. School personnel -- teachers and administrators in particular -- have also received messages from society all their lives which result in negative perceptions of minority group students. Consequently, the behaviors of these administrators and teachers in schools reflect negative perceptions of and low expectations for their minority group students. As students, minority group students in particular, spend a large portion of their young lives in schools, and since school teachers and administrators are usually important people in their lives, the behavior of these teachers and administrators

can have a decided impact on the students' developing self-concepts. This viewpoint is clarified and extended through a review of research regarding the development of students' self-concepts, the relationship between negative self-concepts and low achievement in school, and the role that "significant others", especially teachers, play in that process.

This writer, as a school administrator holds the belief that minority group students are capable of success and are worthy and valuable human beings who can achieve in school as well as any other students. Further, he holds the assumption, and makes the case for it in this paper, that administrators who themselves view minority group students positively can influence teachers in changing their negative perceptions of minority group students to positive ones, and can consequently enable students to develop more positive self-perceptions, thus enhancing their opportunities for success in school. The aim of the dissertation has been the development and presentation of models for administrators for working in schools to help make teachers' perceptions of their minority group students more positive.

Additional literature was examined as a possible source of ideas to serve as the basis for, or to stimulate the author to the development of models which the school administrator can use to assist teachers in changing their negative perceptions of minority group students to positive ones. The selection of

ideas for examination was made on the basis of: the writer's previous experiences with the ideas and their anticipated relevance to the dissertation topic; references from books, articles and other persons and their anticipated relevance; and references from ERIC searches on the subjects of teacher perceptions, minority group students, students' self-concepts, administration and in-service for changing teachers' attitudes and perceptions. That literature which did yield relevant information was reviewed and summarized in the body of the dissertation: psychology (perceptual psychology, Maslow, B.F. Skinner and transactional analysis), existential philosophy, administrative theory (Life Cycle Theory, theory describing the individual in organizations, and change theory), and teacher-student interactions. These ideas are summarized in Chapter II.

Models are presented in Chapter III which are products of the writer's experiences and point of view and of the literature reviews. These models are based on the assumption that the ways teachers perceive their students (the ways teachers behave toward their students) affect students in ways that bear direct relation to the maturity and the ability to grow in school of those students. Essentially, in terms of this dissertation, each individual, in the development of his self-concept passes through several stages. The young, immature individual perceives himself as he thinks others see him. As the individual matures (not necessarily chronologically) the impact of the perceptions of others has less and less effect

on how that individual sees himself. Teachers, like other important people in students' lives can affect students' self-concepts by the ways that they behave toward those students. If teachers act in negative ways toward their students, not only do students tend to feel negatively about themselves, but these negative self-perceptions inhibit growth and the development of potentialities, and make academic success unlikely, whereas teachers' positive patterns of behavior make student growth more likely to occur, and make student success possible.

The first three models relating to teachers' perceptions of students portray the ways teachers perceive students as functions of several factors: the ways in which society and its institutions represent students (particularly minority group students); teachers' self-perceptions; teachers' perceptions of their teaching roles; teachers' previous experiences with students, minority group students, and minority group members; and the teachers' own maturity. Teachers' perceptions of students, though largely negative, are not fixed. These perceptions may change as a function of further experiences and information and as a function of the teachers' growth toward maturity, as well as as a function of changing perceptions of minority group students by institutions (particularly the school).

In approaching the task of improving teachers' perceptions of minority group students, administrators have several options, as persented and described in Chapter III. Administrators may group

teachers with respect to whether their perceptions of students (their behaviors toward students) are positive or negative, whether the teachers are aware of the possible consequences of their behaviors for students, and whether or not the teachers are willing to take steps to alter their perceptions and behaviors. For some groups of teachers, information regarding their own perceptions and behaviors is enough to bring about change. For others, knowledge of the possible consequences of their behavior and perceptions for the students' developing self concepts and their relationship to achievement is sufficient to bring about desired change. And, for some teachers, information makes little difference. It should be clear that different strategies are required for working with the different teacher groups in order to bring about ch nges in perceptions. Information-giving strategies may be effective for some teachers. There are different ways of giving this information: feedback about the teachers' own behaviors; new information; and data given directly by the administrator to teachers to which is tied positive and negative administrative rewards and sanctions. The administrator must be aware that the information which he gives to the teachers is likely to be perceived in the light of administrative sanctions, as opposed to information which is accepted by the teachers at face value. Administrative sanctions can be useful in that the administrator recognizes and uses reinforcement theory, but may not be useful in the sense that negative administrator sanctions,

or even the absence of positive sanctions can represent a threat to teachers and can limit teachers' initiative and growth.

Other models for administrators grow out of the administrator's role in goal setting for the school organization. If the administrator, for example, sets as a goal that teachers should hold positive perceptions of students, then the extent to which teachers will work toward accomplishing that goal will be related to the extent that they accept that goal as their own. Mature teachers will need little assistance in working toward the goal if they accept it. The less mature teacher will require administrative assistance. The administrator can provide that assistance by setting lower-level, interim, achievable goals. Achieving those sub-goals can have the effect of producing a "nothing succeeds like success" upward spiral toward the achievement of the primary organizational goal. Maslow's theory provides another framework for the administrator in viewing possible changes in teachers' perceptions of students. The administrator who is able to link organizational goals to the prepotent needs of teachers (as defined by Maslow) may move teachers in the direction of self-actualization, and may, at the same time, accomplish organizational goals. Self-actualizing teachers are in a better position than other less mature teachers to view students positively and to aid them in their own growth toward becoming autonomous and responsible individuals. The same is true of "Adult," "OK" teachers, in the language of transactional analysis. The Change Theory model is also presented. The administrator can use this model for examining and identifying

those factors acting on the teacher in a particular situation which keep him where he is. Analysis by the administrator or by the administrator and teacher in concert and alterations of particular forces can result in movement by the teacher in the direction of desired change.

The implications of these models for administrative practice are discussed in Chapter IV -- relating the models to the tasks of the school building principal -- not to enumerate all possible applications of the models, but rather to relate concrete events and situations which are likely to be a part of the school administrator's job to the models, and to suggest ways of viewing these tasks in terms of the ideas, concepts and models discussed in the dissertation. The thrusts of this discussion can be summarized as follows: mechanisms and strategies for providing information to teachers regarding behavior, perceptions and consequences for students; strategies for enhancing teachers' growth toward increasing responsibility, autonomy and maturity; ways of viewing and of altering the character and functioning of the school organization as a whole so that it sends positive messages to teachers and students; goal setting and expectations for student success.

Conclusions

Given that teachers' perceptions of students have impact on student achievement, and given that observations and literature tend to support the notion that teachers' perceptions of students

are largely negative and contribute significantly to the lack of success in school of minority group students, then it is proper to consider ways in which these perceptions can be enhanced. This dissertation covers a broad range in developing schema usable by administrators in enhancing teachers' perceptions of minority group students. The writer's own perceptions of the range of ideas suggest that the views which have the most to offer are those which put the responsibility for growth and development on the parts of the teachers and the students. Those views include: existential philosophy, Maslow's being-psychology, the ANISA material, perceptual psychology, the discussions by Hersey and Blanchard and Argyris of maturity, and MacGregor's Theory Y. Essentially, these views impose on teachers and on students the responsibility for their own actions, for their own becoming, for what they are and will become etc.. This position is consistent with this writer's own acceptance of the goal for education of the development of autonomous, independent and self-actualizing people.

If one adopts the Skinnerian point of view, then it seems to this writer that individuals cease to be responsible for their own actions, can never possibly begin to assume that responsibility and take control of their own lives, and must remain always puppets of those who can control their environments. That is, teachers could not possibly be held accountable for their actions, because their work environments are "controlled" by someone other than

themselves. Similarly, this position exempts students from responsibility for their actions, achievements etc..

In view of the goal for education accepted by this writer and stated earlier, this writer leans in the direction of those points of view which allow for individual growth and which acknowledge that each individual has unlimited potential for gorwth and has the capacities within himself for developing that potential. The administrator, at best, in his relationships with teachers can assist them in developing more positive perceptions of their students by helping those teachers to attain increasingly higher levels of maturity in the school organization.

Recommendations

In the light of the models developed and presented in the dissertation, this writer can, at this point make some recommendations for further study -- for increasing knowledge regarding the dissertation topic -- as well as some general recommendations for administrator action in the direction of enhancing teachers' positive perceptions of minority group students.

With regard to increasing knowledge, many possibilities for empirical research arise from the models. This writer has previously proposed, but has not yet carried out, an experimental study dealing with the eight categories of teachers described in Models IV-A and IV-B. Such a study would involve identifying the groups of teachers, and testing strategies for changing

perceptions with each group, and could conceivably yield hard information regarding the effectiveness of one strategy over another, related to the characteristics of the teachers themselves.

The grand experiment would be to isolate students of school age from negative societal influences and expose them to high teacher expectations and positive perceptions to determine what relationships exist between positive teacher perceptions of students, student self-perceptions and student achievement.

Another study could be designed to identify teachers according to some established parameters as "mature," "self-actualizing," and "OK," to characterize their perceptions of students according to operational definitions of positive and negative perceptions, and to compare these perceptions of minority group students with those held by other teachers. This could yield a concrete statement of the value for students of having teachers who are mature, and of the necessity for administrators to assist teachers' development toward maturity.

Finally, this writer recognizes possibilities in transactional analysis for a system which can be used in schools where teachers are assisted in assuming the "I'm OK - You're OK" position with respect to students. This system has yet to be developed and used.

Keeping the stated goal for education in mind, the thrust of the recommendations for administrator action beyond the level of gathering information would be in the direction of making possible teachers' growth toward maturity and self-actualization in schools,

based on the assumption that mature teachers will be able to perceive their students more positively. Additionally, the thrust of these recommendations is directed so as to give more responsibility (effective voice) to parents and the school community in the operation of schools. In the case of inner-city schools, comparatively few parents and community members are involved in the schools, and the degree of this involvement is generally minimal. This writer strongly recommends administrative action to support high expectations of parents and the community for their youngsters, and to give these parents and other community people the means for doing something to bring these expectations into actuality in schools. Increased community expectations coupled with increased community invlovement can have the effect of setting up a situation where teachers and students in schools respond positively to higher expectations, and a spiral toward higher expectations, higher levels of performance and greater success can become actual.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Allen, Paul M., Barnes, W. D. , Reece, J. L. and Robeson E. W. Teacher Self-Appraisal: A Way of Looking Over Your Own Shoulder. Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones Co., 1970.

Argyris, Chris. Personality and Organization. New York: Harper and Row, 1957.

Avila, D., Combs, A. W. and Purkey, W. W. The Helping Relationship Sourcebook. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971.

Banks, James A. (ed.). Black Self-Concept: Implications for Education and Social Science. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972.

Baughman, E. E. and Dahlstrom, W. G. Negro and White Children. New York: Academic Press, 1968.

Bem, Daryl J. Beliefs, Attitudes and Human Affairs. Belmont, Calif. Brooks/Cole Pub. Co., 1970.

Berne, Eric. Games People Play. New York: Ballantine Books, 1964.

Breitman, George, (ed.). Malcolm X Speaks. New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1965.

Brophy, J. and Good, T. Teacher Influence on Student Behavior. New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1972.

Branden, Nathaniel. The Disowned Self. Los Angeles: Nash, 1971.

Clark, Kenneth B. Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power. New York: Harpers, 1965.

Cleaver, Eldridge. Soul on Ice. New York: Dell Publishing, 1968.

Coleman, J. S. et al. Equality of Educational Opportunity. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1966.

Combs, Arthur W. (ed.). Perceiving, Behaving and Becoming. Yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, Washington, D. C.: ASCD, 1962.

_____, et al. Florida Studies in the Helping Professions. Social Science Monograph No. 37, Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 1969.

_____, Avila, D., and Purkey, W. W. Helping Relationships: Basic Concepts for the Helping Professions. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1972.

_____, and Snygg, D. Individual Behavior: A Perceptual Approach to Behavior. New York: Harper and Bros., 1959.

Coopersmith, S. The Antecedents of Self-Esteem. San Francisco: Freeman Press, 1967.

Dember, William N. Psychology of Perception. New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1964.

Diggory, J. C. Self-Evaluation: Concepts and Studies. New York: Wiley and Sons, 1966.

Ellison, Ralph. The Invisible Man. New York: New American Library, 1947.

Faber, Charles F. and Gilbert F. Shearron. Elementary School Administration. New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1970.

Fader, Daniel. The Naked Children. New York: Macmillan Co., 1971.

Flanders, Ned A. and Amidon, E. The Role of the Teacher in the Classroom. Minneapolis: Paul S. Amidon, 1963.

Fanon, Frantz. The Wretched of the Earth. New York: Grove, 1963.

Gage, N. L. (ed.). Handbook of Research on Teaching. Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1963.

Gardner, John W. Self-Renewal: The Individual and the Innovative Society. New York: Harper and Row, 1963.

Gellerman, Saul. Motivation and Productivity. New York: American Management Assoc., 1963.

Gergen, K. J. The Concept of Self. New York: Harper, Row, Winston, 1971.

Ginott, Haim. Teacher and Child. New York: Macmillan Co., 1972.

Glasser, William. Schools without Failure. New York: Harper and Row, 1969.

Goldhammer, Robert. Clinical Supervision. New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1969.

Goodman, M. E. Race Awareness in Young Children. New York: Macmillan, 1964.

Gordon, C. and K. J. Gergen. The Self in Social Interaction: Classic and Contemporary Perspectives. Vol. I. New York: Wiley, 1968.

Hallenbeck, Wilbur C. (ed.). Psychology of Adults: Upper and Lower Case. Washington D. C.: Adult Education Association of the United States, 1963.

Hamachek, Don E. The Self in Growth, Teaching and Learning. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1965.

Hampton, D. R., Summer, C. E. and Webber, R. A. Organizational Behavior and the Practice of Management. Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1968.

Hass, Glen, Wiles, Kimball and Bondi, Joseph. Readings in Curriculum. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1970.

Havighurst, Robert. Developmental Tasks and Education. New York: David McKay Co., 1952.

Harris, Thomas A. I'm OK - You're OK. New York: Avon Books, 1973.

Heidegger, Martin. Existence and Being. London: Vision Press, 1949.

Heinemann, F. H. Existentialism and the Modern Predicament. New York: Harper and Row, 1953.

Hersey, Paul and Blanchard, Kenneth. Management of Organizational Behavior: Utilizing Human Resources. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1972.

Ittleson, W. H. and Cantril, H. Perception: A Transactional Approach. New York: Doubleday, 1954.

Jaspers, Karl. Man in the Modern Age. translated by E. and C. Paul, London: Kegan Paul and Henry Holt, 1952.

_____. The Perennial Scope of Philosophy. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1950.

Jersild, A. In Search of Self. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952.

Jourard, Sidney M. The Transparent Self. New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1971.

Kierkegaard, Soren. Fear and Trembling and the Sickness unto Death. New York: Doubleday, 1954.

Kilpatrick, F. P. (ed.). Human Behavior from the Transactional Point of View. Hanover, New Hamphire: Institute for Associated Research, 1957.

Kneller, George F. Existentialism and Education. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958.

Kozol, Jonathan. Death at an Early Age. New York: Bantam, 1967.

Kvaraceus, et al. Negro Self-Concept: Implications for School and Citizenship. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965.

LaBenne, Wallace D. and Greene, Bert I. Educational Implications of Self-Concept Theory. Pacific Palisades, Calif.: Goodyear Publishing, 1969.

Luft, Joseph. Group Processes: An Introduction to Group Dynamics. Palo Alto, Calif.: National Press Books, 1970.

Maccoby, E. and Zellner, M. Experiments in Primary Education: Aspects of Project Follow-Through. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanonich, 1970.

MacGregor, Douglas. The Human Side of the Enterprise. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960.

Maslow, A. H. Motivation and Personality. New York: Harper, 1954.

_____. Toward a Psychology of Being. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, 1962.

Morris, Van Cleve. Existentialism in Education: What It Means. New York: Harper and Row, 1966.

Moustakas, Clark. The Authentic Teacher: Sensitivity and Awareness in the Classroom. Cambridge: Howard A. Doyle, 1966.

_____, and Perry, Cereta. Learning to Be Free. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973.

Olivero, James L. Micro-Teaching: Medium for Improving Instruction. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1970.

Passow, A. Harry. Education in Depressed Areas. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1963.

Pettigrew, T. F. A Profile of the Negro American. New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand, 1964.

Pfuetze. Paul. Self, Society and Existence: Human Nature and Dialogue in the Thought of George Herbert Mead and Martin Buber. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1954.

Purkey, William Watson. Self-Concept and School Achievement. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1970.

Rogers, Carl R. On Becoming a Person. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1961.

Rosenblith, J. F. and Allensmith, W. (eds.). The Causes of Behavior: Readings in Child Development and Educational Psychology. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1966.

Rosenthal, R. and Jacobson, L. Pygmalion in the Classroom: Teacher Expectations and Pupils' Intellectual Development. New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1968.

Samples, Bob and Wohlford, Bob. Opening: A Primer for Self-Actualization. Philippines: Addison-Wesley, 1973.

Sartre, Jean-Paul. Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology. New York: Washington Square, 1966.

_____. The Transcendency of the Ego: An Existentialist Theory of Consciousness. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1957.

Sears, O. and Sherman, U. S. In Pursuit of Self-Esteem. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Pub. Co., 1964.

Seeman. Leadership in American Education. Chicago: University Chicago Press, 1950.

Sergiovanni, Thomas and Starratt, Robert. Emerging Patterns of Supervision. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971.

Silberman, Charles F. Crisis in the Classroom: The Remaking of American Education. New York: Random House, 1970.

Silberman, Melvin, Allender, J. S. and Yanoff, J. M. (eds.). The Psychology of Open Teaching and Learning. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1972.

Skinner, B. F. Beyond Freedom and Dignity. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971.

_____. Walden Two. New York: Macmillan, 1948.

Strom, Robert D. (ed.). The Inner-City Classroom: Teacher Behaviors. Columbus: Charles E. Merrill, 1966.

Tillich, Paul. The Courage to Be. New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1952.

Travers, Robert M. W. (ed.). Second Handbook of Research on Teaching. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1973.

Wann, T. W. (ed.). Behaviorism and Phenomenology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.

Wright, Nathan Jr. (ed.). What Black Educators Are Saying. New York: Hawthorne Books, 1970.

Wright, Richard. Native Son. New York: New American Library, 1940.

Wylie, R. The Self-Concept: A Critical Survey of Pertinent Research, Lincoln, Neb.: U. of Nebraska Press, 1961.

Yamamoto, K. (ed.). The Child and His Image: The Self-Concept in the Early Years. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1972.

Youth in the Ghetto: A Study of the Consequences of Powerlessness and a Blueprint for Change. Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, New York: Oran Press, 1964.

Articles and Periodicals

Aronson, E. and Carlsmith, J.M. "Performance Expectancy as a Determinant of Actual Performance," Journal of Abnormal And Social Psychology, 65 (1962) pp. 178-182.

_____, and Mills. "The Effects of Severity of Initiation on Liking for a Group, J. Abnormal and Social Psychology, 59 (1959)pp. 177-181.

Bandura, et al. "Relative Efficacy of Desensitization and Modeling Approaches for Inducing Behavior, Affective and Attitudinal Changes," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 13,3 (1970) pp. 173-199.

Bane, Mary Jo and Jencks, Christopher, "The Schools and Equal Opportunity," The Saturday Review of Education, LV, 38 (October, 1972).

Becker, H. S. "Social Class Variations in the Teacher-Student Relationship ," Journal of Educational Sociology, 25 (1952) pp. 451-465.

Benjamin, J. "Changes in Performance in Relation to Influences Upon Self-Conceptualization," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, (1950) pp. 473-480.

Brookover, W., Thomas, S., and Paterson, A. "Self-Concept of Ability and School Achievement," Sociology of Education, 39 (Spring, 1964) pp. 271-278.

Brooks, et al. "Differential Responses to Two Communication Channels: Socio-Economic Class Differences in Response to Verbal Reinforcers Communicated with and without Tonal Inflection," Child Development (1969) pp. 453-470.

Cantril, Hadley. "Perceptions and Interpersonal Relationships," The American Journal of Psychiatry, CXIV (1957) pp. 119-126.

Caplen, M. D. "Self-Concept, Lev 1 of Aspiration and Academic Achievement," Journal of Negro Education, 37 (1968) pp. 435-437.

Combs, Arthur W,, Soper, Don, and Courson, C. "The Measurement of Self-Concept and Self-Report," Educational and Psychological Measurement, 23 (1962).

Davidson, H. and Lang, G. "Childrens' Perceptions of their Teachers' Feelings Toward Them Related to Self-Perception, School Achievement and Behavior," Journal of Experimental Education, 29, (1960) pp. 107-118.

Deutsch, M. et al. "Social Intervention and the Malleability of the Child," The Disadvantaged Child, New York: Basic Books, 1957.

Deutsch, M. "Minority Group and Class Status as Related to Social and Personality Factors in Academic Achievement," Society for Applied Anthropology, Monograph Two, 1960.

Ebony Photo Editorials, "The Scholarly Dozens," Ebony, XXVIII, 1 (November, 1972).

Flanders, Ned A. "Teacher Behavior and In-Service Programs," Educational Leadership, 21, 1 (October, 1963) pp. 25-30.

Fuller, Frances F. "Concerns of Teachers: A Developmental Conceptualization, American Educational Research Journal, VI, 2 (1969) pp. 207-226.

Fink, M. B. "Self-Concept as it Relates to Academic Under-Achievement," Journal of Educational Research, 13 (1962) pp.57-62.

Gibb, Jack R. "Is Help Helpful," Association Forum and Section Journals, New York: National Council of YMCA's, 1964.

Gibson, G. "Aptitude Tests," Science, 149 (1965) p. 583.

Good, T. and Brophy, J. "Dyadic Interaction: A New Method of Classroom Observation," Journal of School Psychology, 8 (1970) pp. 131-138.

Goodman, Walter. "Kenneth Clark's Revolutionary New Slogan: Just Teach Them to Read," The New York Times Magazine (March 18, 1973).

Goslen, D.A. "Interpersonal Interaction and the Development of the Self," Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research, Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1969.

Green, R.L., et al. "Research and the Urban School: Implications for Educational Improvement," Second Handbook of Research on Teaching (R. Travers, ed.) Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1973.

Ittleson, W.H. and Kirkpatrick, F.P. "Experiments in Perception," reprinted from The Scientific American (August, 1951) San Francisco: W. H. Freeman and Co. 1951.

Jackson, Silberman and Wolfson, "Signs of Personal Improvement in Teachers' Descriptions of Students," Journal of Educational Psychology, 60 (1969) pp. 22-27.

Jose, Jean and Cody, John. "Teacher-Pupil Interaction as it Relates to Attempted Changes in Teacher Expectancy of Academic Ability and Achievement," American Educational Research Journal, VIII, 1 (January, 1971) pp. 39-50

Kahn, S.B. and Weiss, Joel. "The Teaching of Affective Responses," in Second Handbook of Research on Teaching (R. Travers, ed.)

Kashensky, M. and Weiner, M. "Tone in Communication and the Performance of Children from Two Socio-Economic Groups, Child Development, 40,4 (1969).

Leacock, Eleanor. "The Concept of Culture and Its Significance for School Counselors," Personality and Guidance Journal 46.9 (May, 1968) pp. 844-851.

Leavitt, Harold. "Perception: From the Inside Looking Out," in Managerial Psychology (Harold Leavitt, ed.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.

Ludwig, D. J. and Maehr, M.L. "Changes in Self-Concept and Stated Behavioral Preferences," Child Development, 38, (1967) pp. 453-467.

Maehr, M.L., Menking, J. and Nafger, S. "Concept of Self and the Reaction of Others," Sociometry 25 (1962) pp. 353-357.

McClelland, David C. "The Achievement Motive," Harvard Business Review, (July-August, 1962) pp. 99-112.

Parker, J. "The Relationship between Self-Report and Inferred Self-Concept, "Educational and Psychological Measurement 26, (1966) pp. 691-700.

Perkins, Hugh V. "Classroom Behavior and Underachievement," American Educational Research Journal, 2 (1965) pp. 1-12.

Paschal, B. J. "The Role of Self-Concept in Achievement," Journal of Negro Education, 37 (1968) pp. 392-396.

Pleis, Ellen V. and Harris, D. B. "Age and Other Correlates of Self-Concept in Children," Journal of Educational Psychology, 55, (1964) pp. 91-95.

Poussaint, Alvin and Jackson, Jesse. "A Rap on Self-Hatred," Ebony, XXVIII, 2 (December, 1972).

Rist, Ray C. "Student Social Class and Teacher Expectations: The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy in Ghetto Education," Harvard Educational Review, 40, 3 (August, 1970).

Rogers, Carl R. and Skinner, B. F. "Some Issues Concerning the Control of Human Behavior," Science, 124 30 (November, 1956) pp. 1057-1066.

Rosenthal, R. and Jacobson, L. "Teacher Expectations for the Disadvantaged," Scientific American, (1968) 19-23.

Rowe, Mary Budd. "Science, Silence and Sanctions," Science and Children (March, 1969) pp. 11-13.

Sarason, I.G. "The Effects of Anxiety and Threat on the Solution of a Difficult Task," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 62 (1961) pp. 165-168).

Sartre, Jean-Paul, "The Humanism of Existentialism," In Jean-Paul Sartre: Essays in Existentialism (Wade Baskin, ed.) New York: The Citadel Press, 1967.

_____. "Freedom and Responsibility," in Jean-Paul Sartre: Essays in Existentialism . . . (Wade Baskin, ed.) New York: The Citadel Press, 1967.

Sikula, Andrew F. "Values and Value Systems: Importance and Relationship to Managerial and Organizational Behavior," Journal of Psychology, 78 (1971) pp. 277-286.

Silberman, M. "Behavioral Expression of Teacher Attitudes toward Elementary School Children," Journal of Educational Psychology, 60 (1969) pp. 402-407.

Snow, R. E. "Unfinished Pygmalion," Contemporary Psychology, 14 (1969) pp. 197-201.

Skinner, B.F. "Behaviorism at Fifty," Science, 140 (1963) pp. 951-958.

_____. "Teaching Machines," Science, 128 (1958 pp. 969-977.

_____. "Reinforcement Today," The American Psychologist, 13 (1958)pp. 94-99.

_____. "A Case History in the Scientific Method," American Psychologist, 11, (1956) pp. 221-233.

_____. "Freedom and the Control of Man," The American Scholar XXV, 1 (Winter 1955-1956) pp. 47-65.

Snow, Richard E. "Theory Construction for Research on Teaching," in Second Handbook of Research on Teaching (R. Travers, ed.) Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1973.

Staines, J. W. "The Self-Picture as a Factor in the Classroom," British Journal of Educational Psychology, 28 (1958) pp. 97-111.

Thorndike, R. L. "But You Have to Know How to Tell Time," American Educational Research Journal, 6 (1969) p. 692.

_____. "Review of Pygmalion," American Educational Research Journal, 85 (1968) pp. 708-711.

Torrance, Paul E. "Teacher Attitudes and Pupil Perceptions," Journal of Teacher Education, 11 (March, 1970) pp. 97-102.

Vinter, R. D. and Sarri, R. C. "Malperformance in the Public School: A Group Work Approach," Social Work, 10 (1965) pp. 3-13.

Williams, Frederick and Whitehead, Jack 1. "Language in the Classroom: Studies of the Pygmalion Effect," English Record, pp. 21, 2 (April, 1971) pp. 108-113.

Yee, A. H. "Source and Direction of Causal Influence in Teacher-Pupil Relationships, Journal of Educational Psychology, 59 (1968) pp. 275-282.

Zigler, "Social Class and the Socialization Process," Review of Educational Research, 40, 1 (1970) pp. 87-111.

Reports and Unpublished Papers

Baty, Roger. The Effect of Cross-Cultural In-Service Training on Selected Attitudes of Elementary School Teachers: A Field Experience, Stanford University, 1969. ED046902.

Blumberg, Arthur. Supervision: Interaction for Planned Change, Syracuse University, 1972.

Brown, Jeanette A. and MacDougall, Mary A. Consulting for Improved Self-Perceptions of Elementary School Children, presented at the American Personnel and Guidance Association Convention, Chicago, March 1972.

_____. et al. Changing Culture Perceptions of Elementary School Teachers, University of Virginia, April, 1972. ED06657.

Churukian, George and Cryan, J. R. Interpersonal Perceptions as a Factor in Teacher Perceptions of Supervisory Style, presented at the American Educational Research Association meeting, Chicago, April, 1972. ED064233.

Cornwell, Henry G. Comparison of Changes in Self-Image of Black and White Students, K through High School: Final Report, Office of Education, BR-O-B-003, November, 1970. ED051308.

Doyle, Wayne, J. et al. Teachers' Perceptions: Do They Make A Difference? presented at the American Educational Research Association meeting, 1971. ED048109.

Edgerton, J. Wilbert. A View of Personality, University of North Carolina, School of Medicine, 1968.

Eiseman, Jeffrey. Key Concepts as of September, 1972, University of Massachusetts, School of Education, 1972.

Flemming and Anttonen. "Teacher Expectancy or My Fair Lady," presented at AERA meeting, 1970.

Flowers, C. E. Effects of an Arbitrary Accelerated Group Placement on Tested Academic Achievement of Educationally Disadvantaged Students, dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1966.

Gilberts, Richard A. et al. Teacher Perceptions of Race, Socio-Economic Status and Language Characteristics, 1971. ED052131.

Good, Thomas and Brophy, Jere. Behavioral Expression of Teacher Attitudes, presented at the AERA meeting, Chicago, 1972. ED 065597.

Guskin, J. T. The Social Perception of Language Variations: Black Dialect and Expectations of Ability, AERA meeting, 1970.

Haberman, M. The Relationship of Bogus Expectations to Success in Student Teaching. AERA meeting, 1970.

Hadfield, Donald L. The Anatomy of Prejudice: An Approach to the In-Service Education of Teachers, State Department of Education, st. Paul, Minnesota, 1970. ED059174.

_____. Ethnic or Cultural Differences: A Suggested Approach to In-Service Training for Classroom Teachers, St. Paul. Minnesota, January, 1971. ED058175.

In-Service Programs: Changing Teacher Attitudes, available from the Board of Education, Toronto, Canada. ED066433.

Jacobs, J. F. and Richard, W. C. Teacher Expectations: The Effect Upon Peer Acceptance, presented at AERA meeting, 1970.

Johnson, T. J. et al. "The Teachers' Perceptions and Attribution of Causation,: Final Report, Project No. 5-1068, Office of Education, Washington, D. C., 1969.

Jordan, Daniel C. and Streets, Donald. The ANISA Model: A New Vision and a New Way in Early Education, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, School of Education, Center for the Study of Human Potential, 1973.

Kilpatrick, F. P. "Recent Transactional Perceptual Research: a Summary," Final Report, Navy Contract N6 ONR 27014, Princeton University, May, 1955.

Long, Barbara and Henderson, E. The Effect of Pupil's Race Class, Test Scores and Classroom Behavior on the Academic Expectancies of Southern and Non-Southern White Teachers presented at the AERA meeting, Chicago, April 1972, ED063422.

Love, Barbara J. Strategies for Combatting Racism through Teacher Training: A Documentation of the Development of a Course in Survival Strategies a dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, School of Education, April, 1972.

Middleman, Ruth and Hawkes, Thomas. An Experimental Field Study of the Impact of Non-verbal Communication of Affect on Children from Two Socio-Economic Backgrounds, AERA, Chicago, April, 1972. ED061550.

Pierce, Reuben G. A Departmental Position Paper on Elementary School Science, Washington, D. C. Public Schools, 1968.

Piper, Richard. Program of In-Service Education for Teachers: Evaluation Report. The Hispanic Urban Center, Los Angeles, July, 1972. ED066431.

Pitt, C. C. V. An Experimental Study of the Effects of Teachers' Knowledge or Incorrect Knowledge of Students' IQ's on Teachers' Attitudes and Practices, and Students' Attitudes and Achievement, dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1956.

Proceedings of the National Policy Conference on Education for Blacks, Washington, D. C. March-April, 1972.

Rubovitz, Pamela C. and Maehr, M. L. Pygmalion Analyzed: Toward an Explanation of the Rosenthal-Jacobson Findings, 1971 ED048108.

Silverman, Stuart and Kimmel E. The Influence of Immediate Feedback on Behavior of Teachers-in-Training, September 1972, ED068463.

Spaulding, R. L. Achievement, Creativity and Self-Concept Correlates of Teacher-Pupil Transactions in Elementary Schools, Office of Education, Cooperative Research Report 1352, University of Illinois, Urbana, 1963.

Sperry, Len T. Changing Teacher Attitudes Toward Human Relations Problems in Integrated Schools, AERA, Chicago, April, 1972. ED061173.

The Urban Teacher: A Preliminary Report of the Interstate Project for State Planning and Program Consolidation, ESEA Title V-505, May 5, 1971. ED061167.

Wheeler, Robert. A Group Dynamics Approach to Effective Attitudinal Change in the Teaching of Disadvantaged Children: A Pilot Program, Office of Education, Kansas City School District, Missouri, August, 1970.

Yee, A. H. Factors Involved in Determining the Relationship Between Teachers' and Pupils' Attitudes, University of Texas, Austin, 1966. ED010336.